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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 278

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# CHINA REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### INTERNATIONAL SITUATION OF 1981 REVIEWED

Beijing BANYUETAN [SEMI-MONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese No 24, 25 Dec 81 p 14-21

[Article by Editorial Department: "Review of the International Situation of 1981"]

[Text] Nineteen eighty-one will soon be over. What conclusions can we draw in reviewing developments in the international situation of the past year? We see these outstanding features: USSR hegemony continues to expand. U.S.-USSR contention has intensified since the Reagan administration came to power. Disputes and unrest occurred incessantly from the Persian Gulf to Indochina, from the Middle East and North Africa to Southern Africa, from the Baltic Sea to the European heartland, and from the Caribbean to South America. The world situation has become more tense and turbulent. The people of the world, especially the people of the Third World, suffer greatly as a consequence of big power contention on the one hand, and on the other hand continue to advance in the struggle against hegemony and expansion. The joint global struggle against hegemony develops further, the momentum of USSR expansion suffers setback so that it is isolated and beset with difficulties.

#### Frontline of Anti-Hegemony Struggle

The focal point of the Soviet Union's global strategy is still in Europe, but as the continent is in a situation of strategic confrontation, the main point of the Soviet attack is to advance southward in order to outflank and close in on Europe. To view the Soviet Union's south-advancing strategy, we should first of all look at two arenas: Afghanistan and Kampuchea.

It is now fully two years since the Soviet Union sent its troops into Afghanistan. It is unprecedented for a self-styled "socialist" superpower to send 100,000 modern troops to invade and occupy a nonaligned neighbor, thus making the matter the world's no. 1 political issue. In those two years, the invading Soviet troops, though equipped with modern arms and paying 3-4 million U.S. dollars each day for military expenses, have not been able to conquer the unyielding people of Afghanistan. The invaders have only been able to occupy the big cities and important communications lines. The patriotic armed forces, on the other hand, have moved freely about the broad rural and mountain areas making up over 85 percent of the country's territory. Through the struggle, the guerrilla forces have grown steadily in number and strength. World opinion holds that the Afghan people's anti-Soviet struggle is in better-than-ever condition in leadership, equipment and organization since the Soviet invasion began. The Soviet invaders are bogged down in a vast sea of people's resistance. The Karmal regime grows more isolated daily, and internal strife is fierce.

The Kremlin is caught in a dilemma. It cannot take Afghanistan if it does not send in more troops. If it does, it would take on an even heavier burden, and be condemned still more by world opinion. Right now it is playing the "political solution" trick, trying to get people to recognize the Karmal regime, thereby recognizing the legitimacy of Soviet occupation. This merits our vigilance.

Another arena is Kampuchea. It has been three years since Vietnam, abetted and supported by the Soviet Union, occupied Kampuchea by armed force. Vietnam's predicament in Kampuchea is even worse than that of the Soviet Union's in Afghanistan. Two hundred thousand Vietnamese troops are bogged down in the mire of Kampuchea and cannot extricate themselves. The Kampuchean people, led by the Democratic Kampuchean government, are carrying on a heroic struggle resisting Vietnamese invasion. The scope of armed struggle steadily expands, the patriotic armed forces are further steeled and tempered, the liberated areas are expanding, and the theaters of war are extending deep into the inland areas.

With the anti-Vietnamese armed struggle making progress, talks in search of ways to jointly resist Vietnam held by the three groups of patriotic forces of Democratic Kampuchea, Sihanouk, and Son Sen have also made certain progress. But there are also many difficulties in the search for ways of united action. The Kampuchean people's anti-Vietnamese struggle has won wide sympathy and support from world opinion, while Vietnam and its supporter the Soviet Union are isolated and being condemned.

Still, though condemned and pressured by world opinion on the questions of Afghanistan and Kampuchea, the Soviet Union and Vietnam continue to hang on and refuse to withdraw their troops. Why?

Facts have shown that the Soviet Union keeps its troops in Afghanistan and supports Vietnam's invasion of Kampuchea not only to enslave the two countries but to make them springboards for its southward expansion, so that it can surround the oil-producing regions in the Middle East, close in on the Strait of Malacca which links two oceans, and cut off the West's sea routes, thus achieving its aim of surrounding West Europe and dominating Europe and the world. This is the Soviet Union's advance-southward strategy. If it is permitted to have its way in Afghanistan, the Soviet Union will advance on the Persian Gulf. If Vietnam succeeds in securing a foothold in Kampuchea, Soviet forces will bear down on the ASEAN countries. Therefore, it will be extremely dangerous not to check their aggressive claws but allow them to continue moving southward.

But the Soviet Union also faces many difficulties. Its domestic economy is not doing well, its military expenses are excessively heavy, and in agriculture it has been having successive poor harvests. It is deeply mired in Afghanistan and its burdens elsewhere are also growing heavier. The Polish crisis is adding to its worries closer to home.

Right now the frontline of the struggle to safeguard world peace and oppose hegemony is in Afghanistan and Kampuchea. If the people of the different countries will go all out to support the anti-aggression struggle of the people of these two countries, pinning down the aggressors and adding to the Soviet Union's difficulties, they can disrupt its strategic plans, upset its smug calculations, and thus help delay the outbreak of a major war.

## The World's Other Hot Spot--Middle East

The Middle East, which is both an oil-producing and a strategic area, is where the two hegemonist powers contend the most fiercely, and is also an area of complex contradictions. The situation in the Middle East today is of a definite explosive nature internationally.

Since the first of this year, a series of shocking events have occurred in the Middle East: Iraq and Iran have been at war for more than a year with no immediate prospect of ceasefire or peace talks. Israel shot down a Syrian plane in Lebanon, and Syria moved Soviet-made missiles into Lebanon, causing a "missile crisis." Israel sent its planes to raid the Iraqi nuclear reactor, arousing public indignation around the world. Israel's fierce bombardment of Lebanon caused heavy casualties. The Soviet Union supported Libya and Ethiopia in signing a cooperation treaty of a military nature with South Yemen, in a step designed to contend with the United States in this area. U.S. and Libyan planes clashed in the air over the Mediterranean. The United States stepped up the forming of the Middle East "Rapid Deployment Force." The Soviet Union carried out subversive activities in Egypt. Egyptian president Sadat was assassinated. Israel illegally changed the status of the Golan Heights....

This series of events shows significantly the tension and unrest and complex contradictions in the Middle East. The crux of the insoluble situation in the Middle East is the two superpowers' contention over the oil resources and strategic areas, and Israel's expansionist policy.

Right now the United States is trying hard to protect its interests in the Middle East and doing everything possible to check Soviet expansion. The Soviet Union, on its part, is trying to stabilize its occupation of Afghanistan and waiting for an opportunity to advance southward to the Indian Ocean and close in on the Persian Gulf to control the oil resources and strategic areas in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf. Taking advantage of the Arab countries' resentment at U.S. partiality to Israel, it tries to sow discord among the Arab states so it can fish in troubled waters.

After the death of Egyptian president Sadat, some new elements have emerged in the Middle East. Both the United States and the USSR are making plans of their own.

Unity of the Arab world is the primary requisite for the solution of the Middle East problem. No solution can be found by depending on this or that superpower. China insists on three principles on the Middle East question: First, Israel must withdraw from the Arab land it occupied in 1967, including Jerusalem; second, the national rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to return to their homeland, national self-determination, and establishment of their own state, should be restored; third, the Middle Eastern countries should all enjoy the right of independence and existence.

In August this year Saudi Arabian crown prince Fahd put forth an eight-point proposal for peacefully solving the Middle East question. It both reiterates the national rights of the Palestinian people and contains de facto recognition of Israel. This is the first comprehensive, clearcut, and practical proposal put forth by an Arab state for solving the Middle East question. It will help push forward the solution. Among the Arab states themselves, there are disputes over the proposal and negotiations that will be held to settle them.

## Soviet Union's Worry--Polish Incident

Since the large-scale strike in Poland last July and August, the incident has grown progressively more serious. The situation remains in turmoil. Two first secretaries of the Polish party central committee have been dismissed in succession. The government has declared martial law for the whole country and is exercising military control. In the past year, contradictions have been complex and intricate between Solidarity and the government, between the Polish party and Solidarity, and between Poland and foreign intervention. But one thing is clear, the Polish state and its people are all for solving the problems on their own.

Since the situation in Poland became aggravated, the Soviet Union has been deploying troops on the Polish border to impose a threat. Soviet leaders have more than once written to the Polish party central committee or issued announcements interfering in Polish affairs. The Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty countries together carried out unprecedented military exercises in the Baltic Sea to put pressure on Poland. Some forces in the West are also taking advantage of the unrest in Poland to make it develop in the direction beneficial to themselves.

The development of the Polish situation hurts the Soviet Union, which finds itself in a difficult situation. If it allows the situation to develop and loses control of it, its strategic passageway to East Europe will be affected. This will also affect other East European countries and the Soviet Union itself. If the Soviet Union tries open intervention and sends troops as it did with Czechoslovakia, it will definitely meet with resistance from the Polish people and strong condemnation from world opinion. This will endanger its relations with the West and put a new yoke and a heavier burden on itself.

The Polish incident is the result of the sharpening of deep-seated social, political and economic contradictions within Poland. The Polish question is entirely Poland's internal affair and should be solved by the Polish government and people themselves without outside interference. If the Soviet Union dares to defy world opinion and invade Poland with armed force, it will not only bring disaster on the Polish people, but will also bring a grave threat to world peace and stability. The people of the world will not forgive them.

## The Reagan Administration in the Face of the Soviet Challenge

Whether involved in contentions in all parts of the world, or in the pace of arms race, the Soviet Union is consistently on the offensive.

Immediately after he took over the White House last January, U.S. president Reagan faced the question of what policies to adopt concerning the Soviet Union.

Developments in the past year show that the Reagan administration has taken a relatively hard line toward the Soviet Union, but is also leaving room for maneuvers.

To reverse the disadvantageous position in the contest of military strength, Reagan put forth a six-year, 180.3 billion-dollar "plan to reinforce strategic strength." He decided on the production of the neutron bomb to counter the Soviet Union's tank superiority in Europe. He changed the military strategy of "fighting one and a half wars" (that is, to be able to fight a major war in one place and a minor war in another place at the same time) into being ready to fight two wars.



The United States has also adopted measures designed to counter the Soviet Union's expansion in various parts of the world. In view of USSR plans to advance southward from Afghanistan, the United States made the decision to supply Pakistan, Afghanistan's neighbor, with 3 billion-U.S. dollars' worth of military and economic aid. With the Soviet Union trying to take advantage of the troubles in the Middle East to benefit itself, the United States speeded up its formation of the "Rapid Deployment Force" so as to be prepared for any contingency. It also decided to sell AWACS to Saudi Arabia. As the Soviet Union casts its covetous eye on Poland, the United States warns that the Soviet Union should not make any move or it will be severely punished. The Soviet Union carried out large-scale exercises in Europe, and NATO did the same. The Soviet Union tries in every way to sow discord between the United States and Europe, hoping to divide and demoralize, the United States makes every effort to ease U.S.-Europe tension and works for joint resistance against the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union uses Cuba to step up infiltration and expansion in the Caribbean and Central America; the United States strengthens its military deployment there and increases economic and military aid to pro-U.S. countries. The Soviet Union uses Vietnam to extend its expansion into Southeast Asia and threaten U.S. sea routes. The United States has asked Japan to strengthen its defense and has undertaken to protect Japan and the sea communications adjacent to it, also increasing military and economic aid to the ASEAN countries....

The two superpowers' struggle for hegemony in all parts of the world is an irreconcilable one. Viewed as a whole, in the content of the two superpowers, the Soviet Union is on the offensive and the United States is the defensive, even though in some places Soviet offensive has suffered setbacks or lost what it has gained, while the United States sometimes also goes on the offensive. The danger of a war comes mainly from USSR aggression and expansion.

At the same time, we also see that in meeting the USSR challenge and contending with it, the United States has adopted some unpopular policies. For example, in the Middle East it is partial to Israel, putting itself in a position at odds with the Arab people. In South Africa, it supports the white people's apartheid regime, again putting itself at odds with many African countries. This not only brings on the opposition of the countries and people of this region, but also gives the Soviet Union opportunities it can exploit to its advantage.

Apart from this, the United States and the West European countries, their economic situations worsening, are caught in a new economic recession, High deficits, high prices, and high unemployment are troubling the government and the people of these countries, affecting stability in society and the governments' foreign policies.

#### The Third World--Advancing Amid Unrest

The situation in the Third World in the past year showed the following characteristics: unstable political situations, economic difficulties, the people, their vigilance sharpened through struggle, pushed forward the struggle to develop national economies and win economic independence, to oppose superpower intervention and defend national independence, to oppose imperialism, colonialism, hegemony, South African apartheid, and Israeli expansionism.

In face of the contention between the two superpowers, the turbulent situations in the Asian, African and Latin American countries have grown even more violent. We have mentioned the troublesome situations in the Middle East, the Persian Gulf and

Indochina. In southern Africa, Libya got involved in the civil war in Chad, complicating the situation there. In West Africa, the five-year-old West Sahara dispute has caused great losses on both contending sides. In the Caribbean region and Central America, Cuba is stretching its hands into all kinds of places. Political situations in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala are all unstable. Coup d'etats occurred frequently in the Asian, African and Latin American countries. Bangladesh president Zia Rahman and Egyptian president Sadat were assassinated.

If we make an in-depth observation of the unstable situations, we can see that aside from domestic elements, there is clearly the shadow of superpower contention in the background. An outstanding characteristic of USSR hegemony is to adopt a tactic of inciting discord in order to divide and weaken the Third World countries, classifying them into "reactionary," "conservative," and "progressive" countries. This merits our vigilance.

Another important reason for the unstable political situations is economic difficulties. Most of the Third World countries today are experiencing considerable economic difficulties. The more than 30 least developed countries are still in extreme poverty. Many countries have serious food shortages. Rising oil prices and the fact that the developed countries are shifting their losses sustained from oil price hikes onto the Third World countries have caused straitened finances and accumulating debts in many countries. It is estimated that the foreign debts of developing countries have already totaled 450 billion U.S. dollars. For most of the Third World countries which make agricultural produce and raw materials their main exports, trade conditions have worsened and unfavorable balance of international income and expenditure has increased. As for the developing countries which export mainly manufactured goods, harmed by trade protectionism and increasing debts, their economic development is slowing down. Even oil exporting countries, in face of worldwide inflation, are unable to protect the value of the foreign exchange received from their oil resources.

Therefore, the Third World countries strongly demand changing the unfair and inequitable international economic relations and establishing a new international economic order. The "North-South Dialogue" attended by 22 heads of state in Cancun, Mexico last October is a reflection of the struggle waged by the poor countries in the south against the rich countries in the north. The five principles for establishing a new international economic order put forth by Premier Zhao Ziyang were warmly welcomed by Third World countries.

Political unrest, economic difficulties, and superpower expansion and aggression are educating the Third World countries and peoples, enabling them to see more clearly the superpowers' essential nature of aggression, expansion, exploitation, and plunder. Anti-hegemony struggle witnessed new progress in the past year.

The Third World countries are becoming firmer and firmer in opposing USSR and Vietnamese aggression. At the meeting of Islamic heads of state last January, at the meeting of foreign ministers of nonaligned countries last February, and at the international conference on the Kampuchean question last July, resolutions or declarations were adopted stressing that all foreign troops must withdraw from Afghanistan and Kampuchea. The 36th General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a resolution by the overwhelming majority of 116 votes demanding that the USSR immediately withdraw its troops from Afghanistan. The same General Assembly adopted

a resolution with the absolutely superiority of 100 votes demanding that Vietnam withdraw all its troops from Kampuchea. This is undoubtedly a heavy blow at the aggressors, showing that they are unpopular.

In the struggle to elect the next secretary-general of the United Nations, the Third World countries strengthened unity and jointly opposed the superpowers' continued control over the election of top administrators in the United Nations and won victory.

China is a Third World country. In international affairs we insist on the strategic thinking of dividing the world into three worlds, and hold high the banner opposing hegemony and safeguarding world peace. We clearly recognize the serious danger of a world war and at the same time firmly believe that as long as the Third World is united, as long as the people of the world are united, increase their vigilance and confidence, and take positive actions, the war plans of USSR hegemony can be defeated, a world war can be postponed, and the future of the world will be bright.

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### NATO'S STRUCTURE, PROBLEMS, PROSPECTS DISCUSSED

Beijing BANYUETAN [SEMI-MONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese No 22, 25 Nov 81 pp 54-55

[Article by Xia Zhimian [1115 3112 3094]: "NATO Under Challenge"]

[Text] People think about the Warsaw Treaty Organization whenever NATO is mentioned. These two European military blocs confronting each other are just like twins in the tense postwar situation, mutually opposed and also dependent on one another. Without one, the other would lose its prerequisite for existence.

Since NATO was established in 1949 and the Warsaw Pact in 1954, it may be going too far to say that NATO was set up to deal with the Warsaw Pact from the very beginning. Today, however, it is no exaggeration that NATO exists to deal with the Warsaw Pact. NATO countries are racking their brains to find ways to deal with the rapidly growing military strength of the Warsaw Pact.

At present, NATO has 15 member countries, of which 2 are North American: the United States and Canada; 12 are European: Great Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, Denmark, Norway, Iceland, Portugal, and Greece; and 1 is Asian: Turkey. Spain is preparing to join and may become its 16th member country.

NATO has a very wide defense area: from Turkey in the east to Alaska in the United States in the west, and from Norway in the north to Portugal at the southern end of the Iberian Peninsula in the south. It also has a very massive military organization. Under the Military Committee formed by the chiefs of staff from the 13 member countries which participate in the unified military organization (the member countries of France and Iceland do not participate), there are the Supreme Allied Command Europe, Supreme Allied Command Atlantic, Allied Command Channel (responsible for the English Channel and the southern area of the North Sea), and the Regional Planning Group for the United States and Canada; they are in charge of defense in their respective regions. Among these, the Supreme Allied Command Europe is the most important, because the European war zone is the frontline of the confrontation where NATO has concentrated 1.76 million troops under a central command, almost 14,000 tanks, and over 6,100 planes.

The major decisions, however, are made by the politicians. The highest policy-making organ is the Council of Ministers. Foreign and defense ministers hold



meetings in the spring and winter of each year (the defense ministers' conference is also known as the Defense Planning Committee) to discuss and deliberate on major problems. In ordinary times, negotiations are conducted by the ambassadors permanently assigned to the headquarters in Brussels.

In the course of the 30-odd years since NATO was founded, the Soviet Union and the Soviet-controlled Warsaw Pact have gradually gained superiority in conventional military strength over the West and a balance in nuclear capability with it. For this reason, NATO cannot but change its strategy again. NATO started out advocating a ground combat strategy designed to score a decisive victory by relying mainly on its strong ground forces. Later, it advocated a so-called "large-scale retaliatory" strategy, which planned to use U.S. strategic nuclear weapons during wartime to inflict heavy casualties on the enemy's effective strength and to smash its advance. Since the 1960's, Soviet nuclear strength has gradually reached a level about equal to that of the United States, forming what the United States called "nuclear stalemate." As the "large-scale retaliatory" strategy lost its basis, NATO had to change to a "flexible response" strategy, which advocates building a "deterrent force" that combines nuclear capability and conventional strength so it may "at any place and time respond with weapons and troops that suit the circumstances"--in other words, be ready to fight any type of warfare.

Since 1976, the Soviet Union has vigorously developed and deployed SS-20 intermediate-range ballistic missiles. By now it has deployed 250 of them in Europe with a capability of carrying 750 nuclear warheads, while NATO does not have a weapon in its arsenal to match the enemy's. To deal with the Soviet superiority in intermediate-range ballistic missiles, NATO decided in December 1979 to begin deploying 572 Pershing II and Tomahawk land-based cruise missiles in West Germany, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, and Belgium in 1983, but the plan has not [begun to be] implemented. The economy of the European countries is generally declining. They have financial difficulties, and pacifism is spreading. Some governments have placed too much hope on negotiations and disarmament. All factors are unfavorable to the implementation of the plan. The Soviet Union takes advantage of this situation, uses both hard and soft tactics with force and enticement against Western European countries, sows discord in U.S.-European relations, and obstructs the realization of the plan in order to maintain Soviet superiority in intermediate-range ballistic missiles.

Public opinion in Western Europe and the United States is concerned that if this situation develops, Western Europe might take the course of Finland--that is, neutrality acceptable to the Soviet Union--and NATO might become paralyzed. Since the Reagan government has been in power in the United States, it has emphasized the need for Western nations to strengthen their military preparations and negotiate with the Soviet Union from a position of strength. It has also taken the lead in increasing military expenditures and the strengthening of defense. The new president of France, Mitterrand, also has stressed that the West must at least gain military superiority before negotiating with the Soviet Union. Other European governments like Britain and West Germany to this day still adhere to the fulfillment of their responsibilities. Whether NATO can deal with the aggressive Soviet challenge and give play to its military role will be a subject of concern to many public figures in Europe.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### IDEOLOGICAL CRISIS AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE DISCUSSED

Beijing XIN SHIQI [NEW ERA] in Chinese No 11, Nov 81 pp 4-7

[Article by Lou Jingbo [2869 7234 3134]: "What Should Young People Believe In?"]

[Excerpts] A "top" student at the Beijing Foreign Language Institute, Feng Daxing [7458 1129 5281], has been punished by state law for armed robbery and murder, and this has caused great repercussions throughout society. In the aftershock, people asked: How did Feng Daxing degenerate from a "top" student into a murderer, and what lessons should we draw from this case?

Let us first look at Feng Daxing's diary.

This is how Feng Daxing recorded his own thoughts: "Since the 'gang of four' has left the stage, I truly have become a faithful follower of the 'crisis of the three beliefs.' The ideal kingdom in my heart has collapsed. Mao Zedong is unreliable, Lenin is unreliable, and even Marx himself is unreliable." He therefore "is painfully going against one's own beliefs." In his mind, "regardless of communism," in the world "the most reliable thing is oneself, or myself, so I must believe in myself." He believed that "what belongs to others can be made mine; it is all right to reach the goal by any means." He was governed by this kind of thinking when he committed armed robbery and murder. After he was arrested and jailed, all he thought about, without showing the slightest repentance, was how to "fulfill myself" and obtain "peace for my soul." He felt unworthy only of his parents; he did not think about the tragic consequences that his crime had caused for the two victims, nor did he think about the party and people who had nurtured him to go to college. Clearly, Feng Daxing's capitalist and ultraindividualist mentality had already penetrated to the bone.

[This is] a person who has lost the correct and noble beliefs--who would have thought that his soul could become so base, selfish, and even degenerate as to commit armed robbery and murder? How deplorable and terrible! Naturally, there are very few young people who go to extremes like Feng Daxing. However, this is not the case with those who share similar views with him, vacillate in Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought, and lack confidence in socialism. Some look for a way out by turning to the capitalist class, once more picking up the obsolete goods of Social Darwinism. Some grovel at the feet of the material culture of the West, making the pursuit of high material enjoyment their only goal. Some use religious superstition to fill their spiritual void, believing that in the

unseen world there is a so-called god who decides everything, and that we can only submit to fate. Lacking belief, some lose spiritual sustenance, become cynical and even world-weary, and commit suicide.

Young people must have correct and lofty beliefs; they must never have blind faith, and must never worship those decadent and declining things of the capitalist class in the West. This is the important lesson we learn from Feng Daxing's case.

The noted Russian writer Chekov commented on belief: "Belief is spiritual labor. Animals do not have beliefs; ...only lofty organisms can achieve beliefs." ("Notes of Chekov," p 47) Humans living in the world will have beliefs, if not in this then in that. Feng Daxing does not believe in Marxism-Leninism but is a devout follower of the individualism of the capitalist class. Without a doubt, lofty beliefs are the seed of noble conduct and the root of success in all undertakings. Whether one's beliefs are lofty and correct is determined by whether the doctrine of one's belief or proposition is the truth. The sound of the cannon of the October Revolution brought Marxism, like a light in the dark, to brighten the advancing path for the Chinese revolution and to give a completely new face to the Chinese revolution. Why is Marxism so powerful? Since Marxism is a scientific conclusion from the in-depth study of the inherent contradictions of the capitalist mode of production, the capitalist system exposed by Marxism is bound to be replaced by communism. This is an objective law independent of man's will. Belief in Marxism goes with the tide of history. Because it is the truth, a revolutionary person must firmly believe in Marxism, take the only historical path pointed out by Marxism, and contribute his efforts for the early arrival of communism.

"Marxism is obsolete and no longer works." Young people with this kind of view actually know very little about the basic theory of Marxism. They learned about Marxism mainly through the realities of socialism. Young people who are now in their 20's did not mature at a time when the superiority of our socialist system was playing a relatively normal role. When they were maturing, the role of this superiority was undergoing serious interference. As some young people say, "We are as though we are being pushed from the top of a high mountain down into a deep valley, shattering pure and fine belief into dust. Ideals and realities ruthlessly grip our hearts." We should say that the superiority of our present socialist society cannot be compared to anything in the past, but it is true that some defects and some dark aspects of the old society still remain. They exist objectively. The problem is how to correctly conduct analyses--in other words, to differentiate between substance and appearance, between essential and non-essential aspects, and to discern that what is inherent in the system is nevertheless manmade.

In the 32 years since the founding of the state, our achievements have been greater than our shortcomings and mistakes. This has been comprehensively analyzed and summed up in the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC." These achievements are the results of the creative use of Marxism by our party and people and of the victory of Mao Zedong Thought, and are a manifestation of the superiority of the socialist system. For 32 years, our shortcomings and mistakes have been caused by

deviations from the guiding ideology and by a lack of experience, not [shortcomings] inherent in the socialist system.

Socialism was born of the old society; it inevitably brings traces of the old society. For many years, because of the influence of leftist errors, we have not faced up to them realistically and practically, but have depicted socialism as spotless and perfect, so that quite a few young people lack the ideological readiness for the shortcomings and defects that socialist society still has, and they underestimate the length and arduousness of socialist construction, resulting in negative and pessimistic feelings on their part. This is what must be corrected in the future. Here, we must tell the young people that the bright side of socialism always holds the leading place.

The socialist system has its course of birth, growth, and gradual perfection. It needs reform precisely because it is not yet perfect. This reform can be accomplished entirely by the socialist system itself, and this is a manifestation of its superiority. The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" uses the standpoints, viewpoints, and methods of Marxism to clear up and sum up the work carried out since the founding of the state. It also has frankly, openly and fairly carried out self-criticism. Which political party in power has done so in modern or ancient times, in China and elsewhere? If the Chinese Communist Party were not a party truly armed with Marxism, how could it have done that? A party that has the courage to admit its mistakes is also one that can correct its mistakes. People who are not prejudiced can see that, with order being brought out of chaos, the original appearance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought is recovering. It is wrong to regard new institutions in the course of being perfected as the final form of socialism, or to doubt the whole system because of the existence of some imperfect parts.

Some comrades like to compare our country with the West and with capitalist countries. This of course is permissible. But this kind of comparison must be comprehensive and historical, or otherwise one will arrive at the incorrect conclusion that socialism is not as good as capitalism. Undoubtedly, the production forces of Western capitalist countries are more developed than ours; their science and technology and standards of management are more advanced. In making these comparisons, however, we must not forget or overlook the following factors:

First, the goals of socialist and capitalist development of production are basically different. The goal of socialist production is to satisfy the people's increasing daily needs in material culture and living. In the past, because of leftist mistakes in guiding ideology, economic construction did not obtain the greater achievements that it should have. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee, the party has shifted the emphasis of work to economic construction and has adopted a series of reform measures dedicated to developing production and improving the people's lives.

The goal of capitalist production is to greedily extort surplus value. Some people, seeing that some developed capitalist countries are implementing a system of social welfare, believe that capitalist exploitation of the workers has been reduced or ended. This is a misconception. Actually, social welfare is entirely a part of the value that is necessarily created by the laboring people in their worktime.



Second, the foundation of our modern construction is uneven; it had a late start and has [been underway] a short time. Our socialism is built in a large and backward country of 1 billion people. Its original basis was a semicolonial and semifeudal society. It did not go through a capitalist stage, so the pernicious influence of feudalism is abundant, the effect of the small-producers' mentality is deep, modern cultural and scientific knowledge is inadequate, the technical foundation of large-scale production is lacking, and democratic and legal traditions are few. To ultimately build a socialist society more advanced than a capitalist one on a foundation whose production forces are more backward than those of a capitalist country is a new subject for which Marx and Engels did not provide an answer. What's more, it has taken a hundred or several hundred years of historical development for the social production forces of those developed countries to reach their present level, while our socialist construction not only started hundreds of years behind the others but has existed only the short period of 32 years. In its course we have also suffered serious damage by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique. To demand that we reach their present levels in a short time is not realistic.

Third, the strong, modern socialist state that we must build demands not only a high degree of material culture but also spiritual culture. Like material culture, spiritual culture is not dispensable. In the capitalist system, capital drowns everything in the icy water of egoistic calculations, with the result that human relations are nothing more than cold and merciless "cash transactions." In the present capitalist societies, the sense of isolation and insecurity is rather widespread. Clearly, affluence does not equate with happiness. Recently, two young people--Yang Yue [2799 6460], a student at Qunming Teachers College, and Xue Aiai [5641 8302 8302], a piano teacher at the Yunnan Art College, wandered abroad for over 160 days. The unbearable spiritual torture there awakened them, and they returned once more to the embrace of the motherland. At first they imagined going abroad to study and to live comfortably. After their arrival on foreign soil, they found that they had entered a spiritual and cultural wasteland. People told them that in the "kingdom of freedom," only by success in business is one considered brilliant; a million dollar bill is the highest diploma. To earn money, people operate mechanically regardless of everything. Money, money, money; money swallows up everything. Money is more important than righteousness, and the smell of copper pollutes the whole society. Young people who live in a socialist state are entirely unfamiliar with such a spiritual sepulchre and cannot imagine it.

After a decade of internal disorder in our country, unhealthy trends have undoubtedly grown in the party and society, but ultimately they will be denounced by public opinion as not being right and proper. Our party also firmly opposes them. Even today, when social practices have been seriously polluted, moving tales of unity and cooperation, putting others before oneself, arduous struggle, and ardent love for the motherland still continue to appear. Some donated tens of thousands of yuan to the Tangshan earthquake disaster area without giving their names. Some would rather rely on their labor to make a living and have voluntarily turned over their tens of thousands of yuan in property inheritance to the public. Some have generously given their thousands of yuan saved from frugal living to stricken factories in order to revive production. In the recent large-scale flood in Sichuan and Liaoning, many unknown cadres, fighters,

workers, and commune members courageously rescued state property and the lives of others without considering their own lives or property. This is the basis upon which we build a high degree of spiritual culture and is the indispensable spiritual strength for us to promote modern construction.

To help our young friends to establish a belief in Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought, in addition to making contrasts in real life and understanding the superiority of the socialist system, we need to change the state of inadequate Marxist knowledge. This calls for organizing them to study and master the basic theory of Marxism and to learn to use Marxist standpoints, viewpoints, and methods to observe and analyze society. A high school student in Shanghai named Xu Jiong [1776 3518] was originally at a loss and depressed. He was unhappy with reality and had written a very biased essay entitled "The Heart Shivering." His teacher helped him to study the philosophy of Marxism, and a major change took place in his mentality. He said with profound feeling: "In the past, our belief was built on sand without a solid foundation, and would be easily collapsed by the rush of water. Only by studying Marxist philosophy, learning the correct ideological method, and [achieving] belief from one's own thinking can we withstand the erosion of a fierce flood." Moreover, some young people blamed the "old ancestors" and believed them to be the cause of their mishap. After reading the Marxist classics, they discovered that their misfortune lay in the fact that the Marxism they had learned in the past had been distorted by crooks through the use of pragmatism. They read extensively and carefully the noted works of Chinese and foreign philosophers, compared the ideology of various schools, and combined China's social conditions in their thinking. Finally they were sure that the ideological system of Marxism is the most correct and scientific one. In the end they were once again converted to Marxism. The course of "negation of negation" is rather painful but very valuable. We believe and we expect that by studying, contrasting, and thinking, even more young people are bound to enter the realm of "negation of negation" and firmly establish their belief in Marxism.

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CSO: 4005/510

## PARTY AND STATE

### REVOLUTIONARY REFORMISM TO BUILD NEW SOCIAL, ECONOMIC SYSTEMS URGED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 12 Jan 82 p 3

[Article by Liu Hefu [0491 3109 1133]: "On Revolutionary Reformism"]

[Text] An article by Xue Hanfo [5641 3352 0154] and Pan Guohua [3382 0948 5478] entitled "On Revolutionary Reformism," published in XUEXI YU TANSUO [STUDY AND EXPLORATION], No 6, 1981, holds that the relationship between revolution and reformism is by no means fixed once and for all but changeable along with the change of historical conditions: before the system of exploitation was overthrown, the two had been mutually incompatible, and whosoever wanted revolution would also oppose reformism and adherence to reformism would be tantamount to opposition to revolution. But, after the system of exploitation was basically eliminated, the two not only became compatible but methods of traditional reformism had to be employed in order to have new revolutionary tasks accomplished. This reformism was not reformism in the traditional sense; it was revolutionary reformism.

The authors maintain that, after the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production was basically accomplished in 1956, an important reason why we time and again committed "leftist" mistakes was because we failed to understand that, as historical conditions change, the methods for accomplishing revolutionary tasks should also change along with them, while we continued, instead, to think that only by revolutionary methods can we accomplish revolutionary tasks, forgetting the limitations and conditions for accomplishing revolutionary tasks by revolutionary methods and refusing to acknowledge the necessity of turning to reformism under given conditions.

The authors were of the opinion that, in order to make clear what revolutionary reformism is and why it is feasible to practice revolutionary reformism, it is necessary to make clear what revolution is, what reform and reformism is. What we ordinarily call "revolution" is by no means a unitary concept but a concept with multiple connotations, as we can at least distinguish five such different connotations upon analysis. First, it denotes a major, "epoch-making" change in a certain realm of our social life. For instance, the change arising from the various industrial departments replacing manual production with machine production, which began in the 1760's, was called industrial revolution or production revolution by historians. But this was not the intrinsic meaning of the concept "revolution" but its derivation. Second, it denotes the change of one class

overthrowing another, namely political revolution. This is the intrinsic meaning of the concept "revolution." What Marxism initially addressed and generally addresses is precisely this kind of political revolution. Third, it denotes the organization and building of new social, economic systems; this is the special implication of a proletarian socialist revolution and a deepening and most direction extension of this concept "revolution." Fourth, it denotes the method by which revolutionary tasks are accomplished, that is, a most basic, most fundamental transformation that destroys the old things, and not a prudent, slow, and gradual reform of the old things that seeks to do as little damage to them as possible. And fifth, it denotes a spiritual state of active striving, assertiveness, and exertion in defiance of personal dangers, namely a "revolutionary spirit." Different from revolution, reform is a gradual, not a sudden, change that replaces the old with the new; reform is "a step in the direction of improvement." Taking reform as the principal or only means of transforming existing things is reformism.

The authors hold that the reason why, after the proletariat seizes power and becomes elevated to the status of ruling class, and especially after socialist transformation is basically accomplished, it is feasible and necessary to adopt reformism is because at this time the socialist system is already set up. The tasks of perfecting and developing the socialist system and proceeding with socialist economic construction and cultural construction no longer need to, nor should, fundamentally transform its superstructure and economic base, as advocated by the theory of "continuing revolution," nor can they be realized at the speed of "20 years in one day," as was assumed in the period of the "Great Leap Forward." They can only be realized at a gradual and relatively slow pace with the cumulation of days and months of sustained effort. Such a reformism is of course not the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois kind of reformism, not opportunistic reformism, but revolutionary reformism, because the tasks it intends to accomplish are revolutionary ones and not ones intended for the maintenance of the exploitative classes of the old society. This so-called revolutionary reformism is intended to accomplish the tasks of organizing and building new social, economic systems by reformist methods and a revolutionary spirit. In a word, it is intended to accomplish new revolutionary tasks by reformist means.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### DIFFERENT VIEWS GIVEN ON BOURGEOIS LIBERATION CHARGE

#### Defense of Criticism

Harbin FENDOU STRUGGLE No 11 in Chinese 10 Nov 81 pp 7-8

[Article by Zhao Huizhen [6392 1920 3791]: "Liberalization Is a Basic Violation of the Interests of the People"]

[Text] Very recently, some people have used the excuse of protecting the rights of the people to spread various mistaken notions and to resist the criticism of bourgeois liberalization. Because of this, it is very necessary to analyze their mistaken notions and to see to it that the people are clear about liberalization being a basic violation of the interests of the people if we are to implement the spirit of the Sixth Plenum of the party, to solve the weak and disorganized condition of leadership on the ideological front, to eliminate the mistaken influence of the "left" and to develop the excellent situation existing since the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee.

One characteristic of liberalism is opposition to centralism, a dislike of leadership and enthusiasm for extremist democracy. People who are influenced by this social tide mistake the fostering of socialist democracy for doing whatever one likes--everything done in accordance with "my" will. They charge anyone who encroaches in the slightest on their individual interests or who disagrees with or criticizes their mistaken notions with "violating democracy and infringing on the democratic rights of the people." Actually, the conception of democracy held by these people is extremely narrow. What they think and advocate, in fact, violates the principles of socialist democracy. If we allow what they think and advocate to spread unchecked, the democratic rights of the masses will be harmed.

Marxism-Leninism declares that democracy also includes the state. The democracy of capitalism is the state system of the bourgeoisie and it protects the private property of the bourgeoisie and their freedom to exploit. It is a rich man's heaven, a poor man's pit. With bourgeois democracy there can be no democracy of the proletariat and the broad ranks of laboring people. The matter of socialist democracy is first a matter of the socialist state system. It is based on public ownership of the means of production, that is, on "the foundation of the entire people enjoying in common the ownership and control of the various forms of the means of production, the people enjoying the highest authority over the management of the state." This is an unshakable political principle of the socialist system. The more developed socialist democracy is, the smoother will be the implementation of the four modernizations.

The desire of democracy is majority rule. Socialist democracy is, in fact as well as in name, rule by the absolute majority--something which has never existed before. Within the ranks of the people, there are always opinions and demands of each individual which are in accord with reality and those which are not, those which are correct and those which are mistaken, and those which, although reasonable, cannot be quickly realized. Socialist democracy requires that, on the foundation of fully fostering democracy, the opinions and demands of the broad masses which are in accord with reality and are correct be collected, formed into policy and put into effect under the united leadership of the party and the people's government. Socialist democracy requires that we resolutely maintain the collective unity of the party and the people's government, that we maintain policies and laws that embody the will of the people, that we maintain the authority of leaders and managers who carry out the will of the people, and that we maintain the order of work, production and life of the people. If we do not, on the foundation of democracy, collect the correct opinions of the masses and if we do not have the collective, unified leadership of the party and the people's government, then we cannot achieve unified understanding, policies, plans and action; socialist revolution and construction cannot proceed smoothly; the desires of the broad masses cannot be realized; and no individual democratic rights can be guaranteed. Socialist democracy requires that we carry out dictatorship over the small number of class enemies who are hostile to or sabotage the cause of socialism. If we tolerate the commission of crimes by a handful of counterrevolutionary and criminal elements and do not mete out severe punishment, then can we have stable production, work and social order? Can we have conditions where the people can normally exercise their democratic rights? Thus, the kind of extremist democracy that denies the collective and rejects leadership; the kind that believes that the minority need not obey the decisions of the majority, that one need not obey the regulations laid down by organizations which faithfully represent the people, that lower levels in the hierarchy need not obey the levels above them, and that one can do as one pleases; and the kind of liberalized ideological stance that everything must be done in accordance with "my will," that "I" can do whatever I please, and that no one can criticize "my" mistaken notions, and so on completely violates the principles of socialist democracy and sabotages the exercise of the people's democratic rights. This is antidemocratic and antisocial behavior which socialist democracy must correct.

Another characteristic of liberalization is that it rejects discipline and pursues so-called "absolute freedom" which brooks no restriction. It advocates "allowing anything to be said and permitting anything to be done," and charges whoever would criticize or oppose the thinking or conduct of those who espouse it with "restricting the freedom of the people." Who is not aware that such totally unrestricted "absolute freedom" does not exist in the world? Philosophically, freedom is a recognition of inevitability. Only when people recognize objective laws and act in accordance with them can they have freedom of action. The speech and actions of people are restricted by objective conditions and laws in nature and in society. They cannot do just as they wish. Politically, in any society freedom is always specific, conditional and limited. The freedom in capitalist countries which boast of "absolute freedom" is not absolute. It must protect the rule by those with capital. It is premised on not disturbing the capitalist system and its laws, and it does not allow the people to say and do whatever they wish. In such a society, people with money have freedom, but the exploited, oppressed laboring people have no freedom. Only in socialist society, where the system of private ownership in

man exploits man is abolished and the system of public ownership of the means of production is established, can the broad ranks of people enjoy true freedom. Of course, the freedom of people in socialist society is not absolute, either--socialist freedom exists in concert with discipline. It must also carry specific limitations and restrictions, but these limitations and restrictions are only in order to protect the socialist freedom of the broad masses and to consolidate and develop the socialist system. Socialist democracy is basically different in character from capitalist democracy. It is the freedom of the absolute majority and is absolutely not the freedom where a minority exploits and oppresses the majority, and because of this, it must be a freedom which makes plans in the interest of and respects the absolute majority and which adheres to a socialist legal system. It must restrict so-called "absolute freedom" and anarchy which reject collective unity and discipline and which infringe at will on the interests of the broad masses. Without the necessary restrictions on "allowing anything to be said and permitting anything to be done" and on speech and actions which violate and harm the interests of the people, without criticism and resistance, then there could be no freedom for the broad masses, and then what would become of our socialist nation?! Our nation's constitution stipulates that: "The state prohibits any person from using any means...to harm the common interest," and the people must "respect the public order, respect socialist morality, and protect state secrets." Whoever violates or goes so far as to sabotage constitutional statutes will meet with legal prohibition and investigation. This is the principle that socialist democratic freedoms must abide by the system of socialist law and must coincide with the basic interests of the people. "Absolute freedom" and anarchism basically violate this principle and are not in accord with the interests and desires of the broad masses.

At present, a striking manifestation of bourgeois liberalization is its suspicion of and opposition to the four basic principles, its view of the four basic principles as "shackles," its desire to "break through the four basic principles," and its core is opposition to party leadership. This departs from the principles of the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee. The four basic principles are the collective expression of the basic interests and demands of the broad masses, the foundation of the unity of the people of the entire nation, a basic guarantee of realizing socialist modernization and a basic guarantee that the majority of the people can exercise their democratic rights. The core of the four basic principles is the leadership of the party. The Chinese people have summarized their experiences and reached a truth: without the Communist Party there can be no New China. History has proven that without the Communist Party there can be no socialism, no socialist modernization, nothing that the people have, and, of course, there can be no talk of freedom of the people. Our nation's constitution stipulates that "the citizens" have the duty "to support the leadership of the Communist Party," "to adhere to the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, to protect the motherland," etc. Whoever abandons this duty and attempts some kind of "breaking through" the four basic principles and engages in so-called "absolute freedom" which resists and opposes the leadership of the party does harm to the interests of the broad masses and infringes on the freedom of the majority. In our socialist nation we absolutely will not permit the spread of this tide of bourgeois liberalization which departs from the leadership of the party and from the socialist road. In fact, the tendency toward liberalization that has appeared has already created ideological confusion in some people and has hindered the people's ability to raise their spirits to carry out the four modernizations, and if it continues it will endanger our nation and the socialist cause. Therefore, we cannot take lightly

those persons who make a show of representing the interests and desires of the people in order to deceive and entice those who lack a basic knowledge of Marxism-Leninism to pursue "absolute freedom" and to follow the wrong path of liberalization. Of course, we cannot take all blades of grass for enemy soldiers and, without analysis, label all problems of ideological understanding liberalization, criticizing and struggling in a chaotic manner. We want to carry out correct criticism of and necessary struggle against bourgeois liberalization, to protect the basic interests of the broad masses and to guarantee the smooth implementation of socialist modernization construction.

#### Response to Criticism

Wuhan CHANGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 24 Nov 81 p 3

[Article by Zhou Jingtang [0719 2529 1016]: "Was Liberalization Brought On by Emancipation of the Mind?]

[Text] At present there is a theory that "bourgeois liberalization is brought about by the emancipation of our minds." Very obviously this notion is incorrect. This touches upon the emancipation of the mind of a previous time, doesn't it? Do we still want to emancipate our minds? Are liberalization and emancipation of the mind different? Why would someone speak of the two together? The questions go on and on. If we are not clear about the answers to these questions, then we cannot correctly accomplish the emancipation of our minds and carry out effective resistance to and criticism of the tide of bourgeois liberalization, and overcome it.

Is emancipation of the mind, after all, correct or not? We believe that emancipation of our minds is a strong revolutionary tide which began in a previous period and has been led by the party. The basic purpose of this tide has been to liberate our cadres and the masses from the fetters of the leftist mistakes of the "Great Cultural Revolution" and the previous period, to liberate them from the spiritual shackles forged by Lin Biao and the "gang of four", to liberate them from the bondage of the "two whatevers," to return anew to the scientific path of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, to return to the excellent tradition of starting from reality and seeking the truth from facts, to allow us to understand new conditions in a timely way, to solve new problems and to hasten the "four modernizations" construction. This emancipation of the mind takes the principle of the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee of "emancipating our minds, using our heads, seeking the truth from facts, and looking forward in unity" as a guide. It has a decisive function in regard to quelling chaos, restoring order and overcoming the leftist mistakes in our guiding ideology. This has already been proven by the facts. We must continue to emancipate our minds.

Without doubt, this emancipation of the mind is premised on upholding the four basic principles and takes the unified implementation of the "four modernizations" construction as its goal. Comrade Ye Jianying, in an important speech in commemoration of the 30th anniversary of the nation, pointed out: "In the final analysis, the purpose of emancipation of the mind is to unify the entire party and the people of the entire country and to realize the four modernizations in a planned, step-by-step, down-to-earth way." Therefore, emancipation of our minds and upholding the four basic principles are completely consistent.



But some people who admire or are enthusiastic about bourgeois liberalization do not see it that way. For them, emancipation of the mind can depart from the path of the practical experience of the party and the people, from the path of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and from the four basic principles. For them, it means saying and doing anything they want freely and without any restraint. Actually, they simply want to shake off the leadership of the party and depart from socialism. If you depart from the leadership of the party and the socialist path, then there can be no emancipation of the mind or "four modernizations" construction left to speak of. Therefore, we believe that emancipation of the mind and bourgeois liberalization are in basic opposition to each other.

However, some people nonetheless mix the two together and carry out bourgeois liberalization in the name of emancipation of the mind. They mistakenly believe that emancipation of the mind should mean that "I am free to say and write what I wish to say and write." Unquestionably, the rights of the masses and the freedom of artists and writers to create must be fully respected and protected. After the smashing of the "gang of four", and especially since the Third Plenum, the rights of the people have been restored and guaranteed. Our nation's constitution stipulates each of the rights and freedoms of the citizens. But the freedom referred to is proletarian freedom, not "absolute freedom" to have everything as one wants and not bourgeois liberalization. Proletarian freedom is premised on maintaining the interests of the majority of the people and is a freedom that stimulates us to work in the interests of the people. If we depart from this, then we run up against the restrictions of the law, regulations and ethical standards. In this sense, proletarian freedom is limited. The kind of absolute freedom in which one does as one pleases and the limited freedom advocated by the proletariat are two basically different things. The former is even less the emancipation of the mind of which we speak, and is just a reflection of the tide of bourgeois liberalization.

Emancipation of the mind is opposed to every kind of mistaken tendency. Whether the interference comes from the left or the right, it must be opposed. Of course, each period will have a central theme. Some people assume that the theme of the previous period was primarily our liberation from the mistakes of the left, and so they mistakenly believe that emancipation of the mind is in opposition to the left and not to the right. Because of this, at present, when opposition to bourgeois liberalization is mentioned, they don't understand and even fall into a contradictory mood. True, beginning with the actual situation, the tide of emancipation of our minds in the previous period was primarily for the purpose of liberating the cadres and the masses from the bondage of the left. But in view of the present situation, although the influence of leftist ideology has not been eliminated, a tendency toward bourgeois liberalization has appeared, and moreover, is manifested quite severely among some people. We need to criticize both of these, but especially the tendency toward bourgeois liberalization. Despite our opposition to the left, we cannot fail to perceive and to oppose the tide of bourgeois liberalization that has appeared to endanger the party and socialism. We consider that to do so would be completely mistaken.

It has been a principle of our party historically to carry out a struggle on two fronts, opposing both the left and the right wherever they exist and making concrete analyses of concrete conditions. In terms of the present, we must pay special attention to resisting and criticizing the tide of bourgeois liberalization.

There are still some people who, in the name of emancipation of the mind, view everything statically and pessimistically, and so follow mistaken tides. At the same time, because of having suffered assaults during all the political campaigns of the past, especially those of the 10 years of unrest, and because their accumulated grievances have not been forgotten, some persons, to a greater or lesser extent, admire certain expressions of bourgeois liberalization. And some still retain some of the effects of the criticism of "capitalist roaders," the attacks on superiors and the anarchism and so forth of the "Great Cultural Revolution." Under the sway of this kind of mistaken understanding and the aggrieved mood of individuals, some do not concern themselves with the interests of the party and the people and do not speak of social effects, but write and speak in order to vent their personal hatred and so in a small number of works and speeches a dark side is revealed in which main current and secondary currents are not distinguished. They are one-sided and exaggerated, defame the party and socialism, and give people a very wretched and woeful impression, even going so far as to describe things as hopelessly black. This can only cause the people, and especially young people, to lose confidence in the future, in the party and in socialism. And we cannot overlook the ideological confusion created by the tide of bourgeois liberalization.

The "Historical Resolution" on certain historical questions since the establishment of the nation points out: "The four basic principles are the common political foundation of the unity of the entire party and of the various peoples of the entire country and also a basic guarantee of the smooth realization of the task of socialist modernization construction." We must continue to emancipate our minds, completely cherish the rich fruits reaped by the emancipation of our minds which is led by the party, ever more righteously uphold the four basic principles, and struggle hard to gradually build our nation into a strong, modern, highly democratic, highly civilized socialist country.

#### Hong Kong Report

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 82 pp 11-13

[Article by Lo Bing [5012 0393]: "Remarks of Military Representative Startle Meeting Participants"]

[Text] A Monster

The windfire rages on and on;  
It is fanned by the wind and given new life

Dear Readers: have you seen this kind of monster before? This monster has now, because of a gust of wind, gone from the verge of extinction to being an anxious enemy readying for battle. It is like a disembodied spirit drifting everywhere, drifting into the Great Hall of the People off Tiananmen Square, drifting into the subcommittee meetings at the Fourth Session of the Fifth People's Congress....

Please listen to the voice of this disembodied spirit:

The Theory of Cockiness

"Opposition to bourgeois liberalization must continue because the intelligentsia are now acting cocky."

These are the words of a PLA representative at a subcommittee meeting at this People's Congress.

As soon as the words were out, those around the table were startled.

Some representatives whispered among themselves.

"In speaking of the opposition to bourgeois liberalization, how can you connect it with the intelligentsia?"

"Is it right to call so many social phenomena bourgeois liberalization?"

"Why say that the intelligentsia are cocky now? What evidence is there?"

"Assuming that one or two flawed or questionable works do appear in the literary field, how can you call this an expression of the cockiness of the intelligentsia?"

#### The Careless Application of Labels

In fact, ever since the opening of the movement against "bourgeois liberalization" which is not considered to be a movement, the topic of liberalization has soared across the skies, and the label of liberalization has been applied everywhere. For example, in some units some people are slovenly at work, sometimes arriving late and leaving early for no reason, and the leaders then criticize them for engaging in "bourgeois liberalization." Or as at a hospital where several youthful workers quarreling over a trivial matter came to blows. They also were criticized and their mistakes investigated from the high plane of "liberalization." There was a section chief who would not obey a work transfer ordered by the shop director, and he was also criticized in the party group as being "typical of liberalization." Actually, according to the Central Committee of the party, although it cannot be said that such behavior is not mistaken, still it is definitely not a manifestation of bourgeois liberalization. The Central Committee of the party has pointed out that the "bourgeois liberalization" existing in some areas refers to the "two departures" and the "one opposition." The "two departures" refers to departing from the leadership of the party and from the socialist path; the "one opposition" is the core of the two departures, that is, opposition to party leadership. Here, I do not intend to speak of the nature of the so-called "liberalization" of the "two departures" and the "one opposition," nor am I prepared to discuss whether or not it is necessary to oppose "bourgeois liberalization." What I wish to explain here is the fact that the so-called "liberalization" and anti-"liberalization" incidents occurring in plants, government organs and other work units of which I just spoke also occur in the army. Some leading cadres in the army also unhesitatingly place the "liberalization" label on the heads of those not really engaged in "liberalization."

#### Disdain for the Intelligentsia

Why do some military cadres connect liberalization and the intelligentsia? The literary works currently being pointedly criticized in the military are the work, "Unrequited Love", by the army writer Bai Hua and several poems by the military poet Ye Wenfu [5509 2429 4395]. It goes without saying that Bai Hua and Ye Wenfu are

both intellectuals. This is one point. Second, there is the fact that certain new, educated recruits are not totally obedient. The "theory of intelligentsia cockiness" had its beginning in these.

This viewpoint on the part of army cadres is reflected in the magazine SHIDAIDE BAOGAO [REPORT ON THE TIMES] which is edited by Huang Gang [7806 6921] and enjoys a special relationship with the military. SHIDAIDE BAOGAO, in a supplement to its first issue, printed an article entitled "Warming to Our Readers." In one sentence, in reference to the intelligentsia, the modifier "patriotic" was placed before the word "intelligentsia." This sentence was: "We are determined to stand together with the broad workers, peasants and soldiers and their cadres and the patriotic intelligentsia, offering mutual encouragement and proceeding shoulder to shoulder!" What is the meaning of placing the word "patriotic" before "intelligentsia?" Obviously, it means to place part of the intelligentsia in a separate category. Huang Gang and the others want to "draw clear lines" separating this group and definitely not "stand together, offering mutual encouragement and proceeding shoulder to shoulder" with them. In its third issue, SHIDAIDE BAOGAO published a defensive article, "Warning to Our Readers" (this article aroused a negative reaction among many intellectuals), in which it openly drew the line between patriotic and traitorous intellectuals and, moreover, reproached certain persons in the literary world for "creating and displaying things which promote national betrayal" and certain persons in the scientific world for "running off to foreign lands to partake of 'Western rice'."

To "Yao the Second", Add "Qi the Second"

These words were directed not only at Bai Hua, but also at others in the literary and scientific worlds. Obviously, it is clearly nonsense and unreasonable trouble-making to view Bai Hua and members of the scientific world who "run off to foreign lands" as traitors! Such talk makes one think of the poisonous arrow of an article directed at Liu Shaoqi which was written by Qi Benyu [2058 2609 4416] on orders from superiors entitled "Patriotism or National Betrayal?", and so one feels impelled to add a second title of "Second Generation Qi" to the first title of "Second Generation Yao" which is placed before Huang Gang's name.

Comparing Huang Gang's "theory of national betrayal" with the "theory of cockiness" of the military representative is like comparing a great sorcerer to a small one. But the two theories arise from a single source--namely, a disdain of the intelligentsia which is that part of leftist ideology that led Mao Zedong to persistently carry out attacks against the intelligentsia for a time in the past.

The idea of the "Second Generation Yao" and the "Second Generation Qi" have already become objects of great attention among Beijing's intelligentsia. And what of the "theory of cockiness" of the military representative?

Remarks of a Hong Kong Representative

The words of the military representative that startled the table at the People's Congress subcommittee meeting took flight as if they had grown 100 pairs of wings and soared through the National People's Congress, the Chinese People's Political Consultative Congress and beyond, arousing intense reaction. Here is a situation that I have heard of both directly and indirectly from several representatives from Guangdong, Hong Kong and Macao.



"Has any debate developed around the 'cockiness theory'?", I asked one representative.

"Verbal swords have not yet been crossed. However, many representatives do not agree with generally tying 'liberalization' and the intelligentsia together, nor do they agree with the view of 'intelligentsia cockiness.' Some people also point out that the problem at present is not that the intelligentsia is cocky, but that the policies of the intelligentsia are not often enough put into effect."

"Can you give some concrete examples of what was said at the National People's Congress and the Chinese People's Consultative Congress?"

"One of the representatives among us said this: There is a middle-aged doctor in Guangdong who has consistently worked in a positive way, very seriously, and who would work himself sick without a second thought in order to cure his patients, but there have been many difficulties in his life that the government did not promptly help him to solve."

#### Sales of Literary Publications on Decline

"I have heard that quite a few intellectuals are in similar straits--people who can scarcely raise their heads against the pressures of life, and still they speak of 'being cocky!' Old X, did you voice an opinion in the subcommittee meeting?"

My friend smiled and said: "Let me tell you instead about what a Hong Kong representative said. He used the literary magazine which he publishes in Hong Kong as an example and explained that since this movement against 'liberalization' which is not a movement began, a number of writers have been unwilling to write because of lingering fears, and this has affected circulation. The original circulation of XIAO SHUO YUEBAN [MONTHLY NOVEL] was approximately 1 million and now it is 800,000, and 1982 subscriptions have fallen to about 500,000 (I may not remember the exact figures, but the general situation in magazine publishing is like this)."

#### A Forceful Refutation of the 'Great Theory' of the Military Representative

"The representatives did not refute head-on the words of the military representative, but nonetheless they seemed to aim at them, right?"

"Right. They're playing the tune 'Theory of Cockiness' and I'm singing the tune 'Theory of Policies Not Often Enough Put Into Effect,' and actually it is tit for tat, a forceful refutation."

There are two lines which no one spoke in the subcommittee meetings of the People's Congress and the Political Consultative Congress, but which are making the rounds outside the congresses:

#### It Is the Leftists Who Are Cocky

"The pride behind the words of the military representative and Huang Gang make it clear that leftist ideology is rising again!"

"Hearing the 'theory that the intelligentsia are being cocky again' is like suddenly returning to the frightening time of Mao Zedong (rectify the intelligentsia)!"

Actually, the ones who are cocky at present are definitely not the intellectuals, but rather those deeply infected with the leftist poison.

This is a symptom! This is a dangerous element!

Those in the literary world and most of the intelligentsia are very sensitive about the leftist tide which is anxiously readying for battle. Their method of dealing with this is to resist. Ordinarily, they remain silent or grumble. Under certain circumstances, silence and grumbling constitute resistance.

#### The Tune of Zhou Yang

In an enlarged meeting of the All China Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries held on 15 and 16 December, one sentiment expressing the dissatisfaction of the intelligentsia with the left was obliquely exposed.

At this meeting there was less of the official tune or a tone that was too high and mighty. In the speech by the cultural relations chairman, Zhou Yang [0719 2254], he spoke both of overcoming bureaucratism and of resisting "bourgeois liberalization." When speaking of the problem of overcoming "liberalization," he raised both the idea of a boundary line and the "desire to make a distinction between tendencies toward liberalization and protection of the freedom of socialist art and science. Wanting to protect the proper development of art and literature, we must guarantee the necessary freedom and democracy of writers and artists!" He recognized that in regard to doing well in literary and artistic creation, "cultural organs must give planned guidance and not crudely interfere." One extremely interesting thing is that Zhou Yang not only brought up "opposition to bourgeois liberalization," but at the same time brought up "opposition to the merchandising of literary and artistic endeavors."

The reaction to these remarks by Zhou Yang has not been bad. I hear that Zhou Yang wants to resign from the position of deputy director of the Central Propaganda Department, but has yet to receive final approval. Some people higher up want to retain him. Some less important people also rather hope that Zhou Yang will stay on because they are afraid that he will be replaced by a "King of the Left" type who will not be easy to deal with.

#### Lin Mohan Talks of Respect for Deng

Quite a few of the less important personages have opinions about Lin Mohan's [2651 7817 3211] promotion. Perhaps because of this the higher ups had second thoughts. I hear that Lin Mohan spoke several times at subcommittee meetings discussing the criticism of "liberalization" and with positive results. Once, in speaking of spiritual civilization, he said that now we don't talk of a cult of personality, but of democracy. But we also speak of courtesy, as when Deng Xiaoping took the platform (to chair the People's Consultative Conference), a few representatives failed to stand in respect, and applause was scattered. That is not good.

The lesser personages have engaged in a certain amount of debate over these words of Lin Mohan. But it is this writer's opinion that since most of the Political Consultative Congress members are in their seventies and eighties, with bad eyes and dulled reactions, they can scarcely see clearly who is ascending the chairman's platform, and so it is small wonder that they fail to stand and applaud.

9705

CSO: 4005/421/426/483

## PARTY AND STATE

### CCP LEADER ARROGATES ALL AUTHORITY TO HIMSELF

OW201419 (Clandestine) BA YI Radio in Mandarin 1400 GMT 19 Feb 82

[Text] After assuming the premiership of the State Council, Comrade Zhao Ziyang pointed out in a speech: Overcentralization of power will result in divesting leading comrades at lower levels of their decisionmaking power when handling practical problems and in hampering their initiative. In such circumstances, they will not be able to bring their abilities into full play. This situation can only harm our common cause.

This is a golden saying. Regrettably, however, this saying is an accurate description of Comrade Zhao Ziyang's plight at present. It is precisely because a certain person of the party Central Committee has arrogated all authority to himself that Comrade Zhao Ziyang and other leading comrades at both the central and local levels cannot have a free hand in their work. This has harmed our common cause.

As everyone knows, Comrade Zhao Ziyang is a very able and experienced leading comrade. The situation in Sichuan was very serious when Comrade Zhao Ziyang was transferred from Guangdong to Chengdu. People dying of hunger on the streets was a common sight in Sichuan at that time.

Comrade Zhao Ziyang took a series of effective economic measures to improve people's poor living conditions. Sichuan Province was the first place in the country where the system of more plots for private use, more free markets, more enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses and fixing output quotas on a household basis was reinstituted. In spite of the central authorities' relevant regulations, Comrade Zhao Ziyang increased plots for private use which used to account for 3 to 5 percent of the cultivated land to 15 percent of the cultivated land. Because Comrade Zhao Ziyang took positive radical measures, the masses' enthusiasm ran unprecedentedly high. Thus, the situation in Sichuan quickly took a turn for the better. In the short period from 1977 to 1979, industrial output increased 81 percent and agricultural output rose 25 percent. This gratifying change won praise from the broad masses of people. There is a pet phrase still prevalent in Sichuan that "to have food to eat, one has to look for Ziyang."

Comrade Zhao Ziyang is praised as a very able man not only by people in Sichuan but also by those in other parts of the country. The people trust him. It is

precisely because of this that the masses of people placed great hopes in Comrade Zhao Ziyang after he was appointed premier of the State Council. The masses of people believed that, under his leadership, the difficult situation would certainly be changed and the people's standards of living would soon be improved. Regrettably, the masses' hopes have failed to come true.

Some people have spread rumors viciously slandering Comrade Zhao Ziyang. However, the main reason why the economic situation in the country cannot be quickly improved is still the feudal patriarchal system and overcentralization of power in the party. This has seriously hampered Comrade Zhao Ziyang's initiative in his work. In this situation, other leading comrades also cannot have a free hand in their work. This has obstructed them from leading the country out of the present difficult situation.

When one has arrogated all authority to oneself, all others dare not go one step beyond the prescribed limit no matter whether the one handles daily routines or steps back to the second front to handle matters of policy. This of course has divested other leading comrades of their decisionmaking power in handling important matters and hampered their initiative in their work so that they cannot give full scope to their abilities.

CSO: 4005/619

## PARTY AND STATE

### STUDENT IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION MEETING CLOSES

HK120344 Beijing City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 6 Feb 82

[Text] The Beijing meeting on political and ideological education for students of institutes of higher education concluded yesterday [6 February]. The meeting summed up and exchanged experiences in strengthening ideological education for university students and looked into and arranged for this year's tasks. The meeting stressed that the important tasks of ideological and political education for students of institutes of higher education are applying the Marxist world outlook and communist morals to the students education adhering to the all-round development of moral and intellectual education and physical culture and adhering to the principles of integrating intellectuals with workers and peasants and integrating mental with manual labor. In the light of the current specific situation of students' ideology, it is essential to lay stress on this year on continuing to conduct education in persisting in the four basic principles and in the communist outlook on life.

The meeting held that certain results were achieved in the ideological and political education of students last year. In all institutes of higher education, more and more students have shown concern for politics and have wanted to progress. The situation of stability and unity in schools has been consolidated and strengthened. However, we must recognize that the ideological and political work among all institutes and among all units in each school has not developed evenly and that the laws of ideological education for the younger generation in the new period still need to be studied.

The meeting demanded that all institutes of higher education fully understand the long-term nature and arduousness of ideological education, further eliminate the state of weakness and laxity and improve and strengthen leadership over ideological and political education of students so that it will be firmly grasped. If we are to adhere to education in the four basic principles, we must [words indistinct] and deepen our understanding of the principles and the policies of the party. We must continue to improve the teaching content and methods of political theory lessons, strengthen education in dialectical materialism and historical materialism and strengthen education in the Marxist class viewpoint, the mass viewpoint and the attitude to labor.

CSO: 4005/619



PARTY AND STATE

'RENMIN RIBAO' ARTICLES ON EDGAR SNOW

'9 December Movement'

HK181503 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 12 Feb 82 p 7

[Article by Lu Cui [7120 3862]: "Edgar Snow and '9 December' Movement"]

[Text] In my mind, the name of Edgar Snow is always associated with the "9 December" movement. Furthermore, it was also during the "9 December" movement that I first met him.

Today, in marking the 10th anniversary of the death of Edgar Snow, I recalled an incident which took place in those days.

This happened in the middle of December 1935. It was a cold winter and the land was covered with snow. An atmosphere of peril and white terror hung over the ancient city of Beiping. After occupying northeast China, the Japanese invaders were impatient to seize the whole of north China. The reactionary Kuomintang government was bowing and scraping and making repeated concessions. Internally, it continued to step up its high-pressure policy of "suppressing communism." At this critical juncture of the survival of the Chinese nation, the patriotic students of Beiping, burning with righteous indignation, courageously stepped forward. After the mammoth parade of 9 December, they held an even bigger demonstration on 16 December, and angrily shouted "stop the civil war. Unite against Japan" and "down with Japanese imperialism." The reactionary authorities sent large numbers of troops and policemen to carry out suppression and also closed all the city gates to prevent the students outside the city from joining forces with those inside the city.

That afternoon, student marchers from the Qinghua University and the Yanjing University outside the city bodily forced their way through the west gate. After taking part in the townspeople's rally in Tianqiao, they were again stopped outside the Xuanwu gate. In our anger and anxiety, we unexpectedly found a crack under the city gate. When I crawled through the opening under the gate and tried to open the lock, a group of ferocious soldiers and policemen jumped on me and I was knocked to the ground amid a shower of kicks and blows. Later, I was hustled off to a police station not far from the city wall.

This small police station was as busy as a hornet's nest. Groups of policemen were anxiously marching in and out. The window was covered by a thin layer of ice and it was difficult to see anything outside. When the policemen were not watching, I quietly cleared away a small patch of ice from the window and looked outside. At that moment, a kind and smiling face appeared outside the window. Following, I heard three soft taps on the window and a gentle voice in English asking: "May I come in?"

I was pleasantly surprised: Perhaps, I could contact the outside through this person. So I softly replied in English: "Certainly. Please come in."

The door slowly opened and a tall and lean looking foreigner quietly entered. He wore a plain jacket and his manner was composed and dignified. The smile on his face was very earnest and sincere and his eyes were full of sympathy. All at once I felt that he could only be a friend and not otherwise.

He firmly shook my hand and introduced himself:

"I am Edgar Snow, an American reporter. I saw what happened just now and followed you here. Are you willing to tell me your name and which school you are from?"

I told him all the facts. He was delighted and muttered to himself: "Qinghua University, good." He wrote that down in his notebook, and asked again:

"Why are you marching in the street? Will you talk about the purpose of your demonstration?"

"We have no intention of becoming conquered people. We are calling on the Chinese people not to fight against the Chinese people but to unite against Japanese aggression," I replied emotionally.

He continued to quickly put that down in his notebook. Then he smiled again and asked: "But you are only unarmed students and you have been suppressed. Do you think you can achieve this goal?"

"We have faith in the masses," I replied, "as long as the masses are aroused, China will never be conquered."

"Go! Out!" several armed policemen shouted, pushing me toward the door. I turned and looked at Snow, but he could only slowly follow behind with a regretful expression on his face.

The policemen pushed me up into a covered truck. There was an armed policeman on each side of me and in front of me stood two soldiers with guns in their hands.

Snow stood by the side of the truck looking at me with sympathy and concern.

The engine of the truck started. Snow forced a smile and waved to me.



I shouted to him: "Goodbye. I will be back." He also shouted to me: "Goodbye. Godspeed." His voice was a bit hoarse.

This was my first encounter with Edgar Snow, this American friend with a deep affection for China. All this is still vivid in my mind.

As a result of the perseverance of my schoolmates, or perhaps due to the appearance of Snow, I was released that night and returned to my contingent.

That day Snow sent a special dispatch to the U.S. press and gave an eyewitness account of the student demonstration, and some U.S. and British papers also used it as a "scoop" and featured it under banner headlines. Snow's authentic, vivid and impartial report, like lightning parting the dark clouds, broke through the news blockade of the Kuomintang reactionaries, spread the news of the heroic student struggle to the whole world and evoked widespread sympathy and support from progressive students and youths all over the world. At that time, the World Students' Federation, with its headquarters in Geneva, sponsored and organized a "world aid Chinese students week" and also invited the Chinese students to send delegates to the World Youth Congress in Geneva. This enabled the Chinese students' struggle against aggression to unite and form into a mighty current with the world youths' struggle against fascism.

The reports of Snow and several other foreign reporters had, to a certain extent, also broken through the strict news blockade imposed by the Kuomintang in China, and the news was published by some Chinese and English media in the country. Within a few short days, demonstrations of patriotic youths and students swept the whole nation and subsequently became the magnificent prelude to the national united war of resistance.

The rapid development of the students' movement to save the country threw the authorities of the reactionary regime into a great panic, and they decided to step up suppression. All institutions of higher learning in Beiping lived in an atmosphere of white terror. On 29 February 1936, several thousand troops and policemen armed with machine guns surrounded the Qinghua University on two occasions to conduct a massive search and arrest operation. On the following day, the organization arranged for me to stay in hiding temporarily with Snow at No 13 Kuijiachang.

The small courtyard and several Chinese-style one-storey houses where Snow and his wife stayed at that time became a shelter and meeting place for underground party members and patriotic students from Yanjing, Qinghua and Beijing universities.

Being a journalist, Snow came to China in 1928 and visited many places from northeast to south China. He witnessed the intolerable miseries of the Chinese people in the old days, especially the shocking famine which took the lives of several million people. All this made a great impression on Snow, who was sympathetic and just. He felt "too deeply grieved to control himself" and said that this was the "awakening point" in his life. He saw with his own eyes the darkness and corruption of the KMT rule and the invasion of the Japanese imperialists. Being a resolute antifascist fighter, he had a deep hatred for

the Japanese aggressors and for the terrorist reign of the KMT while showing great sympathy for the Chinese people, who were in the abyss of misery, and their struggle to resist the aggressors, to save the nation and to win democracy.

When he was a teacher in the Department of Journalism at Yanjing University from the autumn of 1933 to the summer of 1935, he became acquainted with a number of progressive students in this and other universities and had a broad contact with them. From these youths, he saw the future of a new China. At that time, Yanjing's Huang Huan, Chen Hanbo, Qinghua's Yao Yilin, Beijing University's Huang Jing and other comrades often visited Snow in his house, and Comrade Huang Jing even hid out in his house once. When the crisis in north China was aggravated, they went to Snow's house to inquire about the situation and analyze and discuss problems with Snow and his wife. Just as Nym Wales (note: Nym Wales, American woman writer who visited the northern Shaanxi base after Snow and wrote "Sequel to Red Star Over China." She and Snow were divorced in 1949), then his wife, wrote: "Edgar and I consider ourselves as being the same kind of people as the Chinese youths. We are on the side of the patriotic youths in China."

Once at that time, the party's Beiping Municipal Committee was sabotaged by the KMT, but was soon reestablished. Some underground branches and members sought every possible way to unfold activities and organize party and league members as well as progressive students through legal or partly legal mass organizations. On 18 November 1935, the Beiping Students' Union was secretly formed. It was through this union and other student organizations in various schools that our party launched, organized and led the "9 December" movement. At that time, in Beiping and Tianjin, some student organizations' declarations and circulars on resisting Japanese aggression to save the nation and striving for democracy were sent to Snow by the above-mentioned comrades and were translated into English through common efforts before they were printed and sent to foreign journalists, press and news agencies. Before the demonstrations on 9 and 16 December took place, Snow and his wife were informed in advance so that they could tell other foreign journalists to come to gather and release news. Snow himself also took many pictures and shot films on the scene. They are now precious historical materials on this movement. With their actions, Snow and his wife enthusiastically supported and helped the Chinese students in their struggle to resist Japanese aggression and save the nation and thus, made great contributions to the Chinese revolution. Later when he recalled the "9 December" movement, Snow said: "This was the first time I saw the matchless political courage of the Chinese young intellectuals. It was an inspiring scene." The "9 December" movement heightened his confidence in China's future. "He learned from the political courage of the Chinese youths that a radical change in history is really possible." (From the preface written by Lois Wheeler, Snow's wife, for the book "China In the Eyes of Edgar Snow")

I stayed in Snow's house for over a week and, with my own eyes, I could see that they were leading a simple life. Yet they worked very hard. Snow spent almost all his time in his study where there were lots of books, especially books about China. He was then working hard on editing and translating the book "Living China" which was later published in July 1936. During my stay there, I read his first book "Far East Front" and was deeply impressed by his foresight on the development of the Far East situation, by his true sympathy and fervent hope for

the Chinese people, his spirit of seeking truth and upholding justice and his boldness in exploration. Together we talked about the situation, the student movement, the expansion of propaganda to the south by Beiping and Tianjin students, and the "29 February" struggle against arrest waged by the students of Qinghua University. He always paid close attention to the development of the Chinese people's movement to resist Japanese aggression and save the nation, and continuously reported it to the outside world.

A week later, I was sent by the Beiping Students' Union to Shanghai to participate in the preparatory work for establishing the All-China Resistance Federation of Students. In order to keep away from the enemy spies and ensure that I could leave Beiping safely, Snow personally drove me to the station. Both he and Nym saw me off at the station and did not leave or wave farewell to me from outside the window until the train moved.

Three months later, being connected and introduced by the underground party organizations, Snow paid a visit to the revolutionary base in northern Shaanxi. He was the first foreign journalist to visit this revolutionary base. After that, his immortal masterpiece "Red Star Over China" was published, which, as we all know, shocked the whole world and greatly extended the political influence of our party and the Red Army.

Now, the name of Edgar Snow has become a symbol of true friendship between the Chinese and American peoples.

Snow gained the friendship of the Chinese youths in Beiping, at the shore of the beautiful Weiming Lake in Yanjing University. According to his last wish and his wife Lois Wheeler's demand, half of his ashes were buried there so that he "could always be with the youths." This is very significant.

Some of his other ashes were buried on the bank of the Hudson River in New York State.

Snow belongs to the United States. He belongs to China as well.

He will always live in the hearts of the Chinese youths, in the hearts of the Chinese people.

#### Huang Hua Article

HK191102 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Feb 82 p 4

[Article by Huang Hua [7806 5478]: "Preface to 'Snow in China'"]

[Text] Editor's note: This is the preface written by Comrade Huang Hua 2 years ago to "Snow in China," a book compiled and printed by the Sanlian Book Store. This book will come out soon. We are specially reproducing it here to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the death of Snow. [End of editor's note]

It has been 8 years since the death of Edgar Snow.

Eight years ago, when I was attending a meeting of the UN Security Council at Addis Ababa in the early part of February 1972, I received an urgent dispatch from Beijing: "Snow is dying. Premier Zhou Enlai instructs you to visit Snow in Switzerland at once and convey to him the regards of such old friends as Chairman Mao Zedong and Premier Zhou Enlai."

I went to the town of (Aishan) [1002 0810] in Switzerland with a heavy heart. Lois and Dr Hatem accompanied me to his sickbed. Very fortunately Snow had regained consciousness that morning after having been in a coma for several days. He recognized me at once and gladly stretched out his thin and emancipated hands to take hold of mine. "The three 'red bandits' are together again" he said and smiled with deep affection. The next 2 or 3 days, Snow was mostly in a coma. As I watched him slowly and permanently departing from his beloved relatives and friends and from his glorious life work of improving friendship and cooperation between the peoples of China and America, my heart was filled with great sadness. The incurable disease finally took his life on 15 February.

Recollecting the past, the cherished memory and respect for an old friend welled up in my mind. His enthusiastic, sincere, conscientious and diligent image is still vivid before my eyes.

Snow won fame as a reporter. In 1936, he negotiated the Kuomintang military blockade and took great risks to cover the Soviet areas in northern Shaanxi. "Red Star Over China" had broken the 10-year Kuomintang blockade to vividly and factually report the heroic revolutionary achievements of the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Red Army and the Chinese workers and peasants. This book was soon translated into many languages and spread to many parts of the world. In the 35 years that followed, he visited China many times and diligently used his reports, writings and lectures to introduce the arduous and magnificent revolutionary cause of the Chinese people to the whole world and to promote understanding and friendship of people the world over toward China. He was more than a reporter. He carefully observed and studied China but he was no onlooker in the cause of the Chinese people. He was delighted and excited over the progress of the Chinese revolution and construction. He was depressed and worried over the detours and setbacks of the revolutionary cause.

His last visit to China was in 1970. I accompanied him and Lois on a visit to the Baoan Prefecture of northern Shaanxi where he had stayed 34 years ago. He was both excited and delighted over every item of construction completed there. He remembered that the encirclement and suppression of the Kuomintang and the prolonged exploitation of the landlords had caused the economy of the red base areas to wither, the army men and civilians to be in rags and the people to become thin and pallid. He was dejected when he saw that the production of Nanniwan had still not returned to the level of the period when the 359th battalion was stationed there to open up the wasteland or to the level before the "cultural revolution." He recalled the scene of the army men and civilians of the border areas developing major production campaigns, triumphing over the Kuomintang blockade and creating miracles under the leadership of Chairman Mao and Commander-in-Chief Zhu and in response to the call of "ample food and clothing by working with our own hands."



For several decades, Snow devoted all his energy to promoting understanding and friendship between the peoples of China and America. He had firm and unshakeable faith in the Chinese people and the American people. The persecution of his family by McCarthyism, the international distortion and slander of new China, the rumors and gossip spread by the "gang of four" and ultraleftists in China and the repeated rejection of his applications to visit China could not damage his friendship for the Chinese people or affect his belief that the peoples of the two countries would eventually break through all obstacles and develop a way for friendly cooperation. He welded together a group of American friends and influenced many upright Americans. Although the enormous amount of work they diligently carried out together was seldom recorded or reported, it nevertheless struck roots in the hearts of the people. Snow was a long-tested friend of the Chinese people.

The recently published new translated volume of Snow's famous "Red Star Over China" by the Sanlian Book Store and the present publication of "Snow in China" are very meaningful as mementos of a friend.

To Snow's old friends in China, these books are extremely good souvenirs. Rereading Snow's experience in China will enable us to recall the past, look into the future and realize the value of time.

For some of the younger Chinese, Snow had set them a lofty example. They can learn from him the moral character of working diligently and unassumingly, trusting the people and always forging ahead. His simple and vivid portrayal of old China and new China has very clearly explained the progress made by the Chinese people in the last several decades and the irresistibility of the socialist cause and inspired us to make steady and tenacious efforts for the magnificent cause of the four modernizations.

Here, I wish to pay heartfelt tribute to the friends who, together with Snow or like Snow, have worked unceasingly for the promotion of better understanding of the Chinese people and the promotion of friendship between the Chinese and American peoples. This contingent of friends is now advancing in an imposing manner.

#### Mao's Gratitude to Snow

HK190703 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Feb 82 p 4

[Article by Liu Liqun [0491 0500 5028]: "We Are All Grateful to You"]

[Text] "We are all grateful to you." These words are taken from Comrade Mao Zedong's letter to Edgar Snow of 10 March 1937. They sincerely expressed the Chinese people's deep feelings toward Edgar Snow. The following is the full text of the letter:

Mr Snow:

Since you left we have continually missed you. How are you getting on now?



I have asked someone who came this way to send you a copy of my recent talk with Agnes Smedley which expounded on some of our new policy measures. Please read them and give publicity to them. We are all grateful to you.

Best wishes for your good health.

Mao Zedong

10 March, Yanan

Throughout the remaining nearly 40 years of his life, from 1937 to his death in 1972, a period full of unrest and a period when he was busy running about, Edgar Snow treasured this letter. When Edgar Snow died, the then Chinese ambassador to Switzerland, Comrade Chen Zhifang, and his wife Comrade Wang Jing helped Mrs Snow--Lois Wheeler--sort out things left by Snow and found this letter which is a precious revolutionary relic. They photocopied it. On the eve of the 10th anniversary of Snow's death, Comrade Chen Zhifang sent the photocopy of this letter, which was personally written by Comrade Mao Zedong, to the preparatory group for the "exhibition of Edgar Snow and China" in the Museum of the Chinese Revolution.

Comrade Mao Zedong time and again expressed his gratitude to Edgar Snow. In the spring of 1938, Comrade Mao Zedong said to a German journalist: "At the time when no one was willing to come, Edgar Snow came here and investigated us. He helped to publicize details about us to the world.... We will always remember the great work he has done for China. He was the first man to pave the way for the establishment of friendly relations." When Edgar Snow visited the revolutionary base area in northern Shaanxi for the second time, Comrade Mao Zedong introduced Edgar Snow to everybody at a meeting of cadres in Yanan. He pointed out to them that Snow's book, "Random Notes on Travel to the West" had reported the facts about us truly and had made our party's policies known to the world. His book was one of the two most successful books that have been written by foreigners on the Chinese revolution.

After the birth of new China, Edgar Snow worked hard at transmitting news across the Pacific Ocean. He visited China three times and, until the very end of his life, did a great deal of work to promote mutual understanding and friendship between the Chinese and the American peoples and to make the world's people better understand new China.

The Chinese people will always remember and be grateful to their true friend Edgar Snow.

CSO: 4005/619

## PARTY AND STATE

### RECTIFICATION OF WORKSTYLE IN YUSHAN COUNTY, JIANGXI REPORTED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Jan 82 p 3

[Report: "Taking the Lead To Observe Discipline and Abide by Law, Seriously Rectifying Unhealthy Practices; the Yushan County Party Committee Energetically Supports the Work of the Discipline Inspection Commission"]

[Text] The Yushan county CCP committee in Jiangxi Province has taken the lead to observe discipline and abide by law and energetically support the work of the discipline inspection commission; it has been generally applauded by the masses within and without the party.

The discipline inspection commission of the Yushan county party committee was rebuilt in 1979. The county party committee paid a great deal of attention to the rebuilding of the discipline commission and urged the organizational departments again and again to make sure to send forward to the discipline inspection commission comrades whose party character is solid, who handle affairs fairly, and who are equipped with a definite capability to handle litigation. With respect to each and every such cadre recommended for transfer to the discipline inspection commission, the county party committee conducted its examination. The county party committee's organization department also appointed a party committee deputy secretary or a party member from each commune, urban community and township as concurrent member of the discipline inspection commission; it also assigned a special discipline inspection cadre to the commission. Because the leading group of the discipline inspection commission of the county party committee was strong and its ranks were also well integrated, it was able to uphold the law with justice and handle litigation without fear; as a result, it was able to investigate and dispose of discipline violation cases within the party generally in time and solve them fairly rationally.

When discussing disputes arising from the litigation on hand, the Yushan county party committee is able to seriously listen to the opinions of the discipline inspection commission. Once, when the county party committee was studying a case of dereliction of duty, some comrades proposed to trace the responsibilities of only the party branch secretary and technicians at a factory. Comrade Li Guangzhi [2621 1684 2535], secretary of the county discipline inspection commission, was of the opinion that handling it this way would be neither adequate, nor fair. The county party committee thus seriously listened to different opinions and instructed the discipline inspection commission and the county

procuratorate to conduct an investigation anew. On the basis of the situation investigated, the county party committee thereby decided to impose pertinent disciplinary measures respectively on the parties involved. In the face of such handling, the masses responded by praising it as fair and the comrades who committed mistakes also regarded it as justified.

When facing individuals trying to plead for leniency for someone in a litigation, the county party committee always backs up the discipline inspection commission and firmly resists unprincipled pleas of this kind. In the past year, the county party committee investigated and handled the false case the "collective rape of a Red Guard" erroneously handled in 1978 and traced the responsibilities of three persons handling the case at the time. One of the three did not acquiesce in the judgment and, taking advantage of a relationship with the old superior, asked someone to plead for leniency on his behalf. The county party committee firmly supported the discipline inspection commission's investigation and handling; it also reported to the regional party committee in time, and obtained the support of its leaders.

The Yushan county party committee not only made a point to back up the cadres of the discipline inspection commission, but also paid attention to taking the lead in observing discipline and abiding by law. Secretary of the county party committee Shao De [6730 1795] regularly reminded everyone: what we want the masses to refrain from doing, members of the standing committee must themselves refrain from doing in the first place; otherwise, when accused by the masses, not only will they themselves be shorn of their glory, but will also cause the county party committee as a whole to be smeared. The county party committee also formulated several "small rules" so that members can supervise each other and carry them out conscientiously. In the case of those who present him with money and gifts in order to ask him to handle certain things for them, Comrade Yan Chunhuo [7346 4783 3499], deputy secretary of the county party committee and county head, not only firmly returns them but also puts forward severe criticism in respect to such people who resort to unhealthy practices. Among the hundreds of youths waiting for employment arranged through his hands, there is not one single relative of his own arranged in violation of established worker recruitment policies. There was one relative of his who asked him to arrange a job for him in the commune or production brigade enterprises. He refused to accommodate him even after 4 years of sustained requests.

With respect to major opinions and major demands reflected during visits made by the masses and in letters written by the masses, the Yushan county party committee has usually maintained the practice of not allowing any individual member to randomly express an opinion in advance but to have ideas discussed collectively and then decided upon when such discussion is wound up so as to prevent unhealthy practices like accommodating personal pleas and opening backdoors.

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CSO: 4005/524

## PARTY AND STATE

### JIANGXI CONVENES FORUM OF INTELLECTUALS

OW141002 Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 12 Feb 82

[Excerpts] On the morning of 11 February, the Jiangxi Provincial CCP Committee and the Jiangxi Provincial People's Government invited representatives of intellectuals from various circles to a forum to hear intellectuals' views on the policy toward intellectuals, the role of middle-aged and young scientific and technological cadres, scientific and technological tasks for 1982 and the reform of scientific research organizations.

Bai Dongcai, permanent secretary of the Jiangxi Provincial CCP Committee and governor of Jiangxi Province; Ma Jikong, secretary of the Provincial CCP Committee; Xi Qin, Standing Committee member of the Provincial CCP Committee and vice provincial governor; and responsible persons of departments, commissions and bureaus concerned attended the forum.

Comrade Bai Dongcai presided over the forum and made an important speech. He said: In inviting representatives of intellectuals from various circles to this forum today, we would like to hear your views on how to do the work among our province's intellectuals better and on how to fully tap their intelligence and wisdom--particularly those of the middle-aged and young scientific and technological cadres--in order to serve the four modernizations. Although we have done a great deal of work and have achieved considerable results in implementing the policy toward intellectuals, many problems still exist, particularly in training, promoting and utilizing middle-aged and young scientific and technological cadres. During the current national economic readjustment period, an important task is stepping up the training of middle-aged and young scientific and technological cadres and giving full play to the role of the backbone middle-aged and young scientific and technological cadres so that they can quickly take over the jobs of scientific and technological cadres of the older generation.

The majority of our nation's middle-aged and young scientific and technological cadres received their training after the founding of the new republic and have made contributions to the motherland's construction by their long and arduous struggle on the scientific and technological front. The majority of our nation's important scientific and technological achievements are the fruit of their hard work. They have become the main force on the scientific and technological front and the backbone force of the four modernizations. They have played an important role in inheriting the past and ushering in the future in China's scientific and technological undertakings. Therefore, we must have a correct understanding

of the scientific and technological cadres, continue to eliminate left ideological influences and overcome our prejudices against intellectuals. Otherwise, we cannot correctly implement the party's policy toward intellectuals.

In accordance with requirements set by the central organs concerning this cadre contingent, party committees at all levels must boldly promote middle-aged and young scientific and technological cadres who are in good political and ideological standing and are endowed with organizational and management ability to leading posts, thus gradually improving this contingent's structure. Regarding those cadres who are extraordinarily proficient or have great potentials for becoming path breakers in scientific and technological work, we must urge them to shoulder important scientific and technological projects and provide them with necessary conditions so that they can rapidly become authorities or leaders in various academic fields.

We must respect the contributions and experiences of veteran scientific and technological experts and give full play to their important role in the four modernizations and in training middle-aged and young scientific and technological personnel. We must urge the middle-aged and young to learn from veteran experts. At the same time, we must do away with the seniority system and raise the prestige of middle-aged and young scientific and technological cadres in academic circles.

In conclusion, Comrade Bai Dongcai emphatically pointed out that it is necessary to reform the scientific and technological organizations, solve the problem of too many administrative and logistical personnel and set up crack scientific and technological organizations that are capable of making new contributions to our material and spiritual civilization.

CSO: 4005/619



PARTY AND STATE

HUBEI GOVERNOR ON SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION, INDUSTRY

HK150315 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 14 Feb 82

[Summary] Governor Han Ningfu pointed out in his government work report at the fourth session of the Fifth Provincial People's Congress: This year we must truly succeed in building socialist material civilization with one hand and building socialist spiritual civilization with the other, and accomplish the Central Committee's demand for a decisive turn for the better in party work style, the social mood and social order.

He said: "In building spiritual civilization this year, we must get a firm grasp of ideological education, the cardinal link, and step up ideological and political work. By conducting education, we should gradually cultivate and establish socialist and communist ideology, morality, and labor attitude among the people of the province." He said: "We must in particular conduct education in ideals and the future for youths and juveniles, and guide them to study and work hard to accomplish the four modernizations."

He continued: "In building socialist spiritual civilization, we must continually enrich the masses' cultural life and actively develop healthy and varied cultural activities. We must vigorously publicize progressive ideology, figures and deeds, to incite and guide the people to make words indistinct boycott unhealthy things. At present the cultural life of the rural masses is very barren. This year we must strive for some improvement in this respect."

Governor Han Ningfu demanded that the province carry out all-round work to straighten out the enterprises and improve economic results. "The province should increase total industrial output value by 6 percent this year and strive for a 7 to 8 percent increase. So long as we affirm our confidence and work hard, it is completely possible to attain an 8 percent increase. The key lies in having a good mental approach."

He stressed: "Straightening out the enterprises in an all-round way is a strategic measure for tapping potentials and improving economic results. The Provincial CCP Committee and people's government have decided to regard all-round straightening out of the industrial enterprises as the main task in industry this year." He said: "Straightening out the enterprises must be combined with reorganizing industry and organizing joint enterprises. We must, according to the circumstances, close, suspend, amalgamate or switch to other production enterprises whose input consumption is high and quality poor, that have run at a loss for a long time and can find no sales outlets for their products."

CSO: 4005/619

## PARTY AND STATE

### XIZANG GREETINGS LETTER TO TIBETANS ABROAD

HK171305 Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 16 Feb 82

[Summary] On 15 February 1982, on the eve of the new year according to the Xizang calendar, the Xizang Regional Committee for receiving Tibetan compatriots who return home and visit the region issued a letter to the Tibetan compatriots living abroad. The letter says that when the new year according to the Xizang calendar approaches, the people of all nationalities in Xizang region think of the Tibetan compatriots living abroad. The letter believes that at this moment, the Tibetan compatriots living abroad will surely think of the region and their own people far away in the region. The letter therefore extends seasonal greetings to the Tibetan compatriots living abroad.

The letter says that over the past year, like the situation of the whole country, the situation of Xizang region has undergone a great change and developed quickly. Despite serious drought and the snow disaster, the region has developed agricultural and livestock production relatively greatly. The value of the main livestock output in the region last year was 11.5 percent more than in the preceding year. The region's total grain output last year reached 950 million jin, 20 million jin more than its planned quota. Apart from the income derived from poultry and sideline production, the per capita distributed cash income in the region last year was 162 yuan, 5.2 percent more than in the preceding year. It was a record. The region overfulfilled its industrial production quota last year. The value of nationality handicraft output was 10 million yuan last year, 66 percent more than in the preceding year. The experimental Yangbajing terrestrial heat electric power station's 3,000-kilowatt generating unit, currently the biggest terrestrial heat generating unit in our country, has been in operation and generating electricity. The region has installed the first 110,000-volt ultrahigh tension electric transmission cable on the roof the world. In agricultural and pastoral areas, peasants and herdsmen have more grain, money, meat, lard, new houses, new tents and new clothes than in the past. The masses are happy that the party has implemented the policies on exemption from procurement for several years, on freedom of religious belief, on all forms of the production responsibility system, on diversification and on freedom to change one's occupation from agriculture to animal husbandry occupation or vice versa. In this gratifying situation, some 170 Tibetan compatriots living abroad returned home to settle down last year. In addition, some 100 Tibetan compatriots came to the motherland to visit their relatives and friends and to see sights and tour. As soon as they stepped on the soil of the motherland, they were warmly welcomed

and received by the party and the government. "In accordance with the skills and requirements of the Tibetan compatriots who returned home to settle down, the party and the government arranged work for some of them and settled some old and weak compatriots in their native villages so that they can happily spend the rest of their life. They came to feel affectionate and warm concern when they returned to the embrace of their homeland. They have really felt carefree while living in the socialist system."

The letter says: "Today, you still live in other countries and worry about your life, clothing and food. Can you not have thought of your motherland, your home town and your own people? Can you not have wanted to put an end to the life of living under another's roof and to be reunited with your own people as quickly as possible? Tibetan compatriots living abroad, so long as you really uphold the unification of the motherland, strive for the great unity of all nationalities of the motherland, take the road of cherishing the motherland and are willing to return to contribute toward building a new socialist Xizang, we warmly welcome you. The party's policy is always that all patriots belong to one big family, whether they rally to the common cause early or late; people's past misdeeds are forgiven; people have the freedom to return to and leave their motherland; and proper arrangements are made for those who return home to settle down. Many ironclad facts have completely explained that the Communist Party means what it says.

"Of course, as you live abroad for a long time, you do not understand much about Xizang's actual situation today and its development and change. You half-believe and half-doubt the party's policies and harbor many worries. This is understandable. However, the vivid facts will continue to explain all to you. We will warmly wait, as we did in the past, for you. We earnestly hope that the Tibetan compatriots who have returned home to visit their relatives and have gone abroad again will truly publicize to the Tibetan compatriots the actual Xizang situation which you have personally seen. Moreover, we also hope that some individuals among you will not fabricate rumors and do things which are not beneficial to the unity of the motherland and the people. We welcome you to return home to visit your relatives and friends, to see your home towns and your own people and to personally see the actual Xizang situation."

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PARTY AND STATE

BRIEFS

HUBEI PEOPLE'S CONGRESS PRESIDIUM--The Presidium of the Hubei Provincial People's Congress held its second meeting this morning. The meeting adopted resolutions on the work reports of the Provincial People's Government, the Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee, the Provincial Higher People's Court and the Provincial People's Procuratorate as well as on the report on execution of the 1981 budget in and 1982's financial tasks. The meeting decided to submit these resolutions to the congress session for examination and approval. At today's presidium meeting, on behalf of the Budget Committee, Zhang Wangwu, chairman of the Budget Committee, gave a report on the province's 1980 final accounts, the execution of the 1981 budget and the examination of 1982's financial tasks. The Budget Committee was satisfied with the execution of the 1981 budget. After examination, the committee agreed to the arrangements and measures proposed by the Provincial People's Government on the financial tasks of 1982. [Excerpt] [HK180621 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 17 Feb 82]

CSO: 4005/619

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### HIGH STANDARDS URGED IN GRANTING OF ACADEMIC DEGREES

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 29 Dec 81 p 2

[Article: "In Conferring Academic Degrees We Must Maintain Standards and Guarantee Quality"]

[Text] Recently, one of the officials in charge of the office of the State Council's Committee on Academic Degrees was interviewed by a reporter of this paper regarding problems inherent in the work of granting master's degrees to some of those among this year's graduating class of graduate students.

The responsible official from the office of the State Council's Committee on Academic Degrees pointed out that when this year's graduating class of graduate students began their studies, our country had not yet put into effect its system of academic degrees, and that the recruitment of students and training of graduate students which took place at that time could not possibly, in every case, be carried out in a manner appropriate to the demands of those studying for a master's degree. Owing to the fact that their level on beginning their studies was unequal, they have studied for different lengths of time, and there have also been discrepancies in training conditions, a portion of the graduating class of graduate students has reached the master's level, while another portion has not been able to. Therefore, all institutions conferring academic degrees must, on the basis of the relevant provisions in the "Regulations Concerning Academic Degrees of the People's Republic of China" and the "Methods to Be Put into Effect Temporarily" and the differing circumstances of the people applying, do a good job, on an individual basis, of determining the qualifications of this year's graduating students applying for a master's degree. For those who really have reached the master's level, a master's degree should be granted, and for those who have not, it should not be granted.

At present, the academic degree committees of degree-conferring institutions should organize their forces and, on an individual basis, evaluate the qualifications of those among their graduating students for whom the granting of a master's degree has already been proposed. If there are some who have raised objections to the granting of the master's degree to some students, those students then should be evaluated with greater emphasis. As for the evaluation of students' qualifications through examinations based on the curriculum, in all subjects in which their preparation has conformed to the requirements of a master's program, they should be exempt from examination; and in those portions of their curriculum which have not conformed to the requirements of a master's curriculum, they should be re-examined.



As for examinations based on a thesis, all those whose theses fail to meet the required academic standard for a master's degree, or whose theses, in their preparation and submission, have not conformed to the relevant regulations concerning academic degrees and the temporary methods cannot be granted a master's degree.

This responsible official also pointed out that the Academic Degree Evaluation Committee must definitely rely fully upon experts and the relevant departments and scientific research institutions of the schools of higher education in order to do a good job of evaluating the students' qualifications. The branch committees of the academic degree evaluation committee in making recommendations for the granting of academic degrees, should employ the method of a secret ballot, and pass those who are approved by two-thirds or more of those attending the committee. The academic degree evaluation committee must conscientiously discuss the suggestions of the branch committees. As for institutions where rather a large number of students are proposed to receive the master's degree, they can be divided into groups for examination; if the group as a whole is sufficiently advanced, it can be approved of as a group, in order to do a good and careful job of the work of examination and approval, and conscientiously carry out the principles of maintaining standards and ensuring quality.

Finally, he emphatically pointed out that the experts and scholars who participate in the academic degree evaluation committees, branch committees, and thesis committees must all have the standpoint of preserving the reputation of our country's system of academic degrees, promoting the development of the enterprises of our country's science and education, and realizing our country's four modernizations; and use a strict and conscientious attitude in evaluating the academic level of applicants. On the question of conferring academic degrees, whether in casting a vote of approval or objection they must be responsible to the nation. Degree-granting institutions must create the proper conditions for these experts and scholars, so as to enable them to fulfill their responsibilities. At present, special attention must be paid to practices that are detrimental to the level of academic degrees, such as being afraid to hurt other's feelings, not having strict enough requirements, casting approving votes against one's better judgment, and giving away academic degrees as one pleases; and we must oppose and resist all improper practices that relate to going through the "relationship door" to receive degrees.

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CSO: 4005/456

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### BODY FORMED TO STUDY DEVELOPMENT, UTILIZATION OF TALENT

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 30 Dec 81 p 4

[Article: "China Society for the Development and Utilization of Talent Formed"]

[Text] At the national conference of talent researchers held in Shenyang on Dec 22-23, the China Society for the Development and Utilization of Talent was formally established.

The question of talent has always been an important aspect of the party's and the state's organizational building. In the history of our party and after the founding of the new China, a large number of highly talented people have been trained. Since the Third Plenum of the party's 11th Central Committee, in the wake of the appearance of the new [good] situation regarding the building of our party and our nation, a large number of new people in every field and profession have sprung up throughout the country, and are in the process of unfolding a heroic picture of the rising up of masses of socialist talent.

Bringing about the four modernizations and the resurgence of China requires, generation after generation, the training of an ever larger number of talented people. And our systems of training, utilizing, and managing talent also requires further reform. The tasks of the China Society for the Development and Utilization of Talent are, under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, to study the question of the policies and systems regarding talent presently existing in our country, to investigate and develop academic theories on the study of talent, to study the history of ideology and systems having to do with talent, and to organize academic exchanges.

In October 1979, a group of academics from the capital and some cadres who had engaged in organizational, personnel, and educational work for many years lent their support to the promotion of research on talent. In the last two years, a number of provinces and municipalities have launched studies on talent and discussions on academic theories concerning talent. In December, 1980, talent researchers throughout the country, along with researchers into metascience and futurology held a joint academic conference in Hefei, and further promoted research into the question of talent. Publication and circulation of this year's April issue of TALENT magazine has risen rapidly. This reflects the fact that the broad masses of readers, particularly young people who are actively on the rise, have formed the common aspiration of becoming highly talented people capable of

answering the needs of the motherland. The study of talent and research into problems relating to talent are also enthusiastically welcomed by the broad masses of comrades engaged in organizational and personnel work. They this kind of research, in regard to the direction of actual work, and taking the wealth of practical knowledge and further systematizing and theorizing it, possesses important significance.

The comrades participating in the national conference of talent researchers happily looked back over the past more than two years, and are filled with confidence over the future prospects of research into the question of talent. At the conference over 40 persons were elected council members (and this group will be augmented, one by one, in future), including Yu Guangyuan (0060 0342 6678), Liao Gailong (1675 5556 7127), Yan Wenjing (0917 2429 0064), Rong Gaotang (2837 7559 2768), Xu Shaofu (1776 1421 3940), Tong Dalin (4547 1129 2651), Huang Wei (7806 5524), Qian Linzhao (6929 5259 3564), Cai Xu (5591 2485), Zhang Xiangtong (1728 7449 2717), Xu Chi (1776 6688), Huang Zongying (7806 1350 5391), Sha Hong (3097 3163), Chen Haosu (7115 8504 5685), Zhong Peizhang (6988 3099 3864) Xu Liyi (6079 0500 0110), Hu Sha (5170 3097), Fang Ming (2455 2494), and Zhou Yiping (0719 0001 5934); Wang Kang (3769 1660) was elected director, and Gan Feng (2413 6912), Wu Mingyu (0702 2494 3842), Tan Gaosheng (6151 6964 3932), and Li You (3810 3945) were elected vice-directors.

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CSO: 4005/456

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### NEW GRADUATES URGED TO CONTRIBUTE TO FOUR MODERNIZATIONS

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 6 Jan 82 pp 1, 4

[Article: "Welcome New Combat Tasks; Make a Contribution to the Building of the Four Modernizations"]

[Text] At the public lecture held today for graduates of the capital's schools of higher education, Vice-Premier Bo Yib [5543 0001 3134] representing the State Council congratulated the entire country's nearly 270,000 graduates of schools of higher education, and expressed the hope that they would man their working posts as soon as possible, welcome new combat tasks, and make their proper contribution to the building of the four modernizations.

Over 12,000 graduates of the capital's schools of higher education jubilantly entered the Great Hall of the People and took part in the public lecture along with over 200 graduate representatives who had come from some of the schools of higher education in Tianjin. The public lecture was presided over by Jiang Nanxiang [5592 0589 5046], Minister of Education.

Vice Premier Bo Yibo said: The quality of the political ideology and cultural knowledge of this year's graduating class of the capital's and the nation's specialized schools of higher education is comparatively good. In manning your work posts, you will be adding a new force for the building of the four modernizations for the motherland. Great enterprises are awaiting you, and the nation and the people congratulate you and welcome you!

After elaborating on the good situation in our country at present regarding greater stability and unity politically and further economic improvements that have been brought about, comrade Bo Yibo brought out the following five hopes for the graduating students:

First: they must persevere in the four basic principles, and under any and all circumstances, no matter what storms are met with, there must not be any wavering from them. In the preceding period there appeared in society ideological currents of bourgeois liberalism which denied the four basic principles. In the course of the struggle against this kind of erroneous ideological current the showing of the broad masses of students at schools of higher education has been good, clearly demonstrating their excellent political quality, and it is hoped that everyone will continue to maintain this correct political direction. If an extremely small

minority of students has been influenced by this kind of erroneous ideological current, and if there are some ways of thinking that are not in accord with the four basic principles, then it is hoped that, following criticism and self-criticism, these will be rectified. After the graduating students their work posts they must continue to study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thought conscientiously, and study the programs and policies of the party Central Committee.

Second, they must go deeply into reality, and persevere in the principle of connecting theory with reality. The graduating class must form the determination to accomplish great things, determine to become useful people, and go to the basic levels and to the foremost rank of the battlefield to receive their tempering. The knowledge of people who have not been tempered by actual practice at the grassroots level is not truly comprehensive. No matter what work post you report to, you must be sure to tie in your theory with the actual situation. You have attended several years of university and have accumulated a great deal of knowledge, but your knowledge is still mainly book-knowledge, and you are still lacking in practical experience. Only knowledge that combines theory and practice is complete knowledge. Hereafter in your work you must on one hand continue to persevere in learning more and, in addition, you must use even more time, and even more energy, spend time on tying in theory with reality, and learn how to deal with and solve practical problems. Only in this way can you forge yourselves into useful, talented people fit for the enterprise of building socialism.

Third, you must humbly study the masses of workers and peasants, and learn from comrades who have practical experience and learning. After manning your work posts, you must cherish a reverent, cautious, and industrious attitude, a humble attitude of seeking instruction, and become as one with the broad masses of workers and peasants. You must conscientiously learn as much as possible about your professional work, take care to understand new conditions, study new problems, ask when you don't understand, and earnestly seek instruction from other comrades.

Fourth, you must continue to maintain the revolutionary vitality, and spirit of seeking truth from facts, of young people. The party Central Committee calls upon the entire party and the people of the entire nation to rouse themselves to revolutionary ardor and build the "two civilizations," and all battlefronts are in the process of adopting effective measures, improving their work, heightening their efficiency, and rousing themselves to revolutionary enthusiasm. In reporting to your work posts, and carrying your youthful revolutionary vigor with you, you will definitely be adding new blood and new force to this effort. You must employ an attitude of seeking truth from facts to look upon all kinds of problems you may be faced with. The path has never been smooth, but as long as you rely upon the party and the masses, persevere in the truth, and rectify error, then problems definitely can gradually find a correct solution. Young people faced with such glorious prospects should be all the more firm in their confidence.

Fifth, it is hoped that everyone will do a good job of making their own living arrangements. In reporting to your new work posts you cannot imagine that everything will have been arranged quite appropriately for you in advance. Some places are still comparatively difficult to live, and your morale should be sufficiently prepared for this. At the same time, it is hoped that everyone will take care to temper themselves into a condition of sound health, in order to persevere the flower of their vitality.



In his speech, Vice-Premier Bo Yibo also brought up several hopes regarding the various ranks of concerned leaders. He said: this year's graduating class is a vital army for the building of socialist modernization; the party and the government have very great hope vested in them. In representing the State Council here today, I would like to express the hope that the various ranks of leaders will conscientiously do a good job of the work of being concerned about, training, and correctly utilizing this year's class of university graduates, and create the proper work, study, and living conditions for them.

The public lecture was attended by Duan Junyi (3008 0689 3015), First Secretary of the Peking Municipal Committee, as well as leading cadres of concerned ministries and commissions under the party Central Committee, concerned departments of Peking Municipality, and the capital's schools of higher education.

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CSO: 4005/456

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### GRADUATING STUDENTS' DEDICATION, SELF-SACRIFICE PRAISED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 18 Dec 81 p 1

[Article: "Dedicating Their Youth To Do the Nation's Surveying Work"]

[Text] Our correspondent Zhou Ming and our reporter Li Baozhong report that 400 students graduating from the Harbin School of Metallurgy and Surveying, having recently concluded their student lives, are separately going to Qinghai, Guizhou, and Inner Mongolia to engage in metallurgical and surveying work.

The Harbin School of Metallurgy and Surveying's three specialized departments of aerial, topographic, and engineering surveying were all set up in order to meet our country's present urgent need on the fronts of metal refining, petroleum, coal, and geological surveying. In order to engage in this kind of work, one must be stationed in one place after another over a long period of time in mountain fastnesses and desert wastelands where living conditions are extremely difficult. From the time the students at this school began their studies, importance has been placed on imparting to the students an ideological education that is appropriate to their specialties, inspires them to accept their assignments, and causes them to develop a psychology of not fearing difficulty or hard work, and dedicating their youth to the enterprise of the nation's surveying work.

On the eve of graduation, one hundred of this school's students who came from cities unanimously requested to be assigned to work in border areas. Classmate Yang Yanhua's family needed him to return home to look after things; on the one hand, he said that he would obey his parents, and on the other hand sincerely requested the school to "guarantee" that he would be sent to a border area. When the school announced that he would be going to a coal mine on the Huolin River in Inner Mongolia, he leapt for joy. Five students came from Guizhou when they began their studies, and while they were in school their families, one after the other moved to middle-sized and large cities in the inner areas of Shandong and Henan, but they did not want the school to "look out" for them, and resolutely decided to return to Guizhou to work at the grassroots level. Among the graduating class are 74 female classmates with an average age of only 18 or 19, and they also actively requested to be sent to difficult areas. A Korean female classmate, Jin Xiangdan, wrote twice to the Ministry of Metallurgy and to the school's party committee, resolutely requesting to be sent to the great northwest. Within three days of the school's announcement of their assignments to units, all 400 of the graduating class left the school and hastened to their work posts. Before leaving the school, they held a ceremony of handing over gifts to their alma mater, and swept all their classrooms clean. Three classmates from class No 86 who were assigned to work in Yunnan, Hubei, and Sichuan used the last night's time available to them to get out the last issue of their class newspaper, and the following morning put on their knapsacks and boarded the train going South.

## BRIEFS

SALVADORAN VICE PRESIDENT ARRIVES--Taipei, 22 Feb (CNA)--General Jaime Abdul Gutierrez, vice president of the revolutionary junta and concurrently commander-in-chief of national armed forces of the Republic of El Salvador, and Mrs Gutierrez, accompanied by Mr Oscar Raymundo Melgar, minister of economic affairs, Dr Ernesto Arbizu Mata, president of the Court of Accounts of the republic, and four aides, arrived in Taipei Monday for a 6-day visit. [Text] [OW221001 Taipei CNA in English 0934 GMT 22 Feb 82] Taipei, 22 Feb (CNA)--Gen Jaime Abdul Gutierrez, vice president of the revolutionary junta of the Government of El Salvador, and Madame Gutierrez arrived in Taipei Monday morning for a 6-day visit. Gen Gutierrez, concurrently commander-in-chief of the Salvadoran armed forces, was accompanied by Economics Minister Oscar Raymundo Melgar, and Ernesto Arbizu Mata, president of the Court of Accounts, during his tour. Upon their arrival at Central Taipei's Sungshan military airport, the dignitaries were greeted by Vice President Shieh Tung-Min, Premier Sun Yun-Hsuan, Foreign Minister Chu Fu-Sung, Defense Minister Gen Joong Chang-Chih, and members of the foreign diplomatic corps. Accompanied by Vice President Shieh, General Gutierrez received military salute and reviewed military guards. Later he shook hands with all the welcomers at the airport to express his appreciation. During his stay, the Salvadoran leader will call on the Chinese Government leaders and visit cultural, economic and military establishments in this country. Economics Minister Melgar will sign a science and technology cooperation agreement with the Chinese Government to further advance cooperation with this nation. [Text] [OW221423 Taipei CNA in English 0913 GMT 22 Feb 82]

INVITATIONS TO SOFTBALL TOURNEY--Taipei, 23 Feb (CNA)--The Chinese-Taipei, Amateur Softball Association (CTASA) Tuesday declared that invitations to the fifth world women's softball championships have been signed and handed over to Don Porter, secretary general of the International Softball Federation (ISF). CTASA President Ho Ming-Chang told reporters he signed the invitations last Saturday night in his capacity as chairman of the organizing committee of the Taipei tournament. He said these invitations were brought along with related documents to the United States Sunday by Hsueh Kuo-Hang, a CTASA counselor. They will be mailed to all 46 members of the ISF soon, Ho said. The softball tourney is scheduled to be held here 2-11 July. [Text] [OW231435 Taipei CNA in English 1409 GMT 23 Feb 82]

SUN RECEIVES ROK GROUP--Taipei, 16 Feb (CNA)--Premier Sun Yun-Hsuan Tuesday received Pak Tong-chin, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of South Korean Parliament and his party, at the Executive Yuan. Premier Sun expressed his warm welcome to the visitors and exchanged opinions with them on matters of mutual concern. Leading a five-member parliamentary delegation, Pak arrived in Taipei Monday for a weeklong visit at the invitation of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs [MOFA]. Also present at the meeting were accompanied by Korean Ambassador Kim Chom-kon and Director Lin Tsun-hsien of the East Asia and Pacific Department under MOFA. [Text] [OW190637 Taipei CNA in English 1338 GMT 16 Feb 82]

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